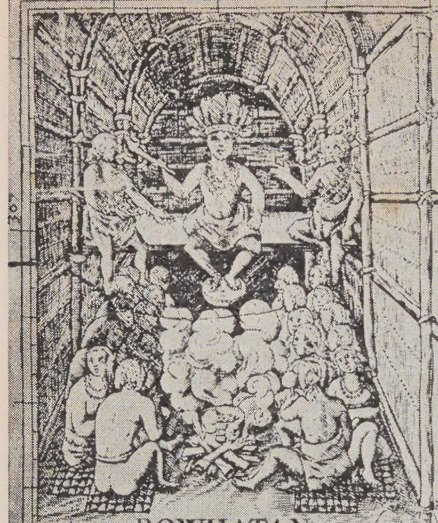
Potomac Landings

by

Paul Wilstach



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POTOMAC LANDINGS

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BY

PAUL WILSTACH

Author of
"Mount Vernon," "Richard
Mansfield, the Man and
the Actor," Etc.

PHOTOGRAPHS
BY
ROGER B. WHITMAN
AND OTHERS

GARDEN CITY, N. Y., AND TORONTO
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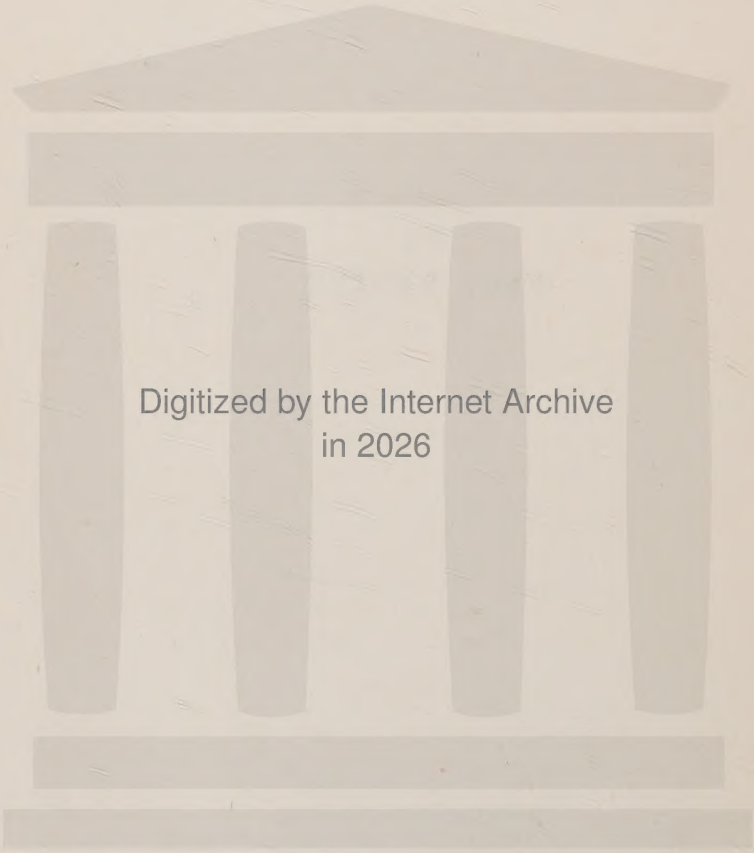
First Edition

To
PAUL KESTER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POTOMAC LANDINGS

CHAPTER I

General Survey of the Potomac River—Tidewater and Fresh Water—Estuaries of the Chesapeake—The Open Hand, a Map of Virginia Tidal Waters—The Pictorial Potomac—Current and Tide—The Broad Margin of Life—The Eye of History.

THE Potomac River has two quite dissimilar characters. From the junction of the West Branch and the South Branch, at a point about fifteen miles southeast of Cumberland in the state of Maryland, to the Great Falls and Little Falls, about ten miles above the city of Washington, the river is a comparatively narrow, swift, turbulent, and erratic fresh-water stream. It breaks through the Blue Ridge Mountains amid the rugged scenery at Harper's Ferry and, as if expending itself in one final orgy, dashes first over the Great Falls, then over the Little Fall, and soon settles into a broad, serene calm as its currents are absorbed in the quiet tidal waters. From the Falls to its mouth, where its merger with Chesapeake Bay is complete, is a distance of one hundred and twenty miles.

Maryland is the north boundary and first West Virginia and then Virginia is the south boundary of the Potomac from the point where the Branches join until the Mountains are pierced at Harper's Ferry. Thereafter Maryland and Virginia face each other across the remainder of its length until it reaches the Bay.

The Potomac above Washington City is a stream.

Below Washington it is practically an arm of Chesapeake Bay. Its waters are salty for a considerable distance above its union with the Bay and they are brakish throughout nearly all the rest of its tidal length. If the fresh-water feed from its upper reaches above the Falls were withdrawn, the one hundred and twenty miles of tidewater Potomac would still be there, contracted over most of its way to its deep channel, but capable as now, in this channel at least, of bearing most of the sea-going ships which sail its waters.

Fresh-water Potomac possesses much wild beauty, the charm of unviolated nature, contrasted in less rugged portions with domestic stretches where the march of civilization across the Alleghenies has left its impression. But its banks confine a restless, primitive element, unevenly narrow and deep or wide and shallow, its bed sometimes treacherous with rock, sometimes broken by islands, its beauty often fascinating, but the beauty of primeval nature, of overshadowing mountains and of wideflung forests. Occasionally, as indicated, it casts off this aspect and flows through valleys of rare pastoral loveliness. Its mood, however, is too fickle for commerce and it remains, now as it was in the beginning, chiefly a carrier of the flow of the springs and the melted snows from the mountainsides to the sea.

The bearers of civilization over the Alleghenies to the Mississippi Valley frequently made the Potomac's fresh-water course their pathway. It saw many an historic encounter between the aborigines and the British colonists, and between the British and French in the early fight for dominion of the wilderness south of the Great Lakes. During the Civil War armies of

both contenders crossed and recrossed its stream before and after Gettsyburg. Washington, with the vision of the engineer, planned to unite fresh-water and tidewater Potomac with a canal around the Falls. It was the preliminary to his vaster project of alienating the settler of the Mississippi Valley from the Spanish and French on the Gulf and binding them to their kinsmen on the Atlantic coast by using the united Potomac as the commercial highway through the mountains to the plains.

There is another story in the "freshes" of the old river, a story all its own, individual, vigorous, and thrilling, but it is without disparagement to its values that the intention here is to dwell on the peculiarly abundant human and historic interest found in that calm stretch from the Falls to the Bay known as Tidewater Potomac.

This is the Potomac of the landings—of the old wharves supported by the leaning piles and protected at their corners by the high cable-lashed clusters of stout oak; of matchless romance and history; of the adventurers and planters; of the clipper ships from England and the Spanish Main, the frigates of war times, and the schooners and sloops and gilling skiffs; of the long stretches of leisurely peace over an almost unbroken span of three hundred years. The story of tidewater Potomac over that period, as found in the old Southern plantations which stretch behind its landings with a cohesion akin to, if not quite of the same significance as, the tight and tidier New England villages about their town-halls, is to be the topic of this narrative. The landings are frequent, and the way to their pilings leads up many a meandering creek. Doubtless calms will empty the sails set to carry the interest and the tide of

patience will at times run low. But the venture that the return of the wind and tide may here prove periodic, as it unfailingly is in the river itself, may sustain hope.

The river is known to many, yet few know it. The brief fourteen-mile reach from Washington to Mount Vernon has been seen annually by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to this shrine. Scarcely a foreign celebrity touches this continent who does not visit the home and tomb of Washington, and gaze admiringly on the majestic river. A considerable fleet of passenger-carrying ships makes the journey between the city of Washington on the one hand and the lower landings and Baltimore and Norfolk on the other, but almost always by night, so that even the traveller on the Potomac does not really see it. And so it has gone out of, or rather it has not recently come into, the acquaintance of any considerable number of people. Its beauty, its charm, its history, and the greatness of those who have dwelt along its shores, have lain like hidden treasure for any leisurely adventurer to come upon, in some cases with an astonishment which is humiliating.

That great inland tidal sea called Chesapeake Bay, and its estuaries of which tidewater Potomac is the principal one, is locked off from the turbulent Atlantic by the sheltering arms of Cape Henry and Cape Charles and stretches northward behind the fertile flats of the quaint old Eastern Shore of Maryland and, at its southern tip, of Virginia, too.

The right hand spread wide open, the fingers and thumb rigidly extended, is graphically suggestive of Chesapeake Bay and its four historic rivers. The palm of the hand represents the lower bay with Cape Charles

and Cape Henry on either side of the wrist where it joins the hand. The thumb, if it be unbending, however the palmists may insist it signifies lack of imagination, will to the imaginative point to the northward reaches of the upper bay, where the Eastern Shore of Maryland separates it from the ocean on the right or east and where on the left Maryland's Western Shore is broken by the Patuxent, the Severn with Annapolis at its mouth, the Patapsco with Baltimore at the point where its fresh waters unite with its salt, and finally the lordly Susquehannah gliding majestically under the lofty railroad bridges so familiar to travellers between New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

Returning to the extended palm and the lower bay, the four fingers typify exactly the four great rivers which carry the "sweet waters" of the Blue Ridge from the mountainsides to the sea. The little finger represents the James with Norfolk at its mouth, historic Jamestown almost midway its steamer route, and Richmond at its head. The third or ring finger points off in the direction of the York, suggestive at once of Cornwallis' surrender to Washington. The long second finger points north of west to the leisurely route of the Rappahannock whose steamers crawl quietly along seventy-five miles of tidewater to old Fredericksburg. Finally, the first or index finger points west and north to the course of the Potomac whose storied waters are to furnish the occasion of this narrative.

Each of these four rivers has its associations with particular events and with particular families which sometimes actually transcend mere events. To the James came John Smith and the English adventurers in

1607, thirteen years before the pilgrims came to Plymouth, and on its banks rose Brandon of the Harrisons, Westover of Colonel William Byrd, and Shirley of the Carters. In that sandy peninsula or "neck" between the James and the York, between the little finger and the ring finger of that extended right hand, rose Williamsburg, now a sleepy village but once the capital of the royal colony of Virginia with its House of Burgesses echoing to the voices of Henry, Pendleton, Randolph, the Lees, Mason, Washington, and Jefferson, and with the alma mater of many early Virginians, the College of William and Mary chartered second of all American seats of learning. The Rappahannock's treasures were, and in some cases are still, the plantations and mansions of the Carters and Tayloes and Fantleroys and other distinguished families, Sabine Hall having been the seat of the Carters and Mount Airy of the Tayloe family whose town house in the new capital at the head of tidewater Potomac was the affectionately preserved Octagon House, present home of the American Institute of Architects. Between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, between the middle finger and the index finger, lies a peninsula referred to generally in colonial history and tradition as the Northern Neck. Its entire width from river to river ranges from only five to twenty-two miles, and as the Potomac washes one whole side, some of its plantations and peoples will appear in this story.

At its mouth the Potomac is said to be seven miles wide, and so it is direct from shore to shore. But from Point Lookout on the Maryland lip to Smith Point on the Virginia shore it is some four miles farther be-

cause the few miles above the latter point lie in a disputed zone, and if idle argument is coveted there is much to be said as to whether it is bay shore or river shore. For many miles above the mouth the contiguous land is so flat that the low shores magnify the water stretches and suggest a vastness which is not really there. Seldom do these watersides rise above twenty feet on either side, and in places the rise is much less. Often it seems as if only the trees, most often pines, raise the shore line into the vision of the traveller in a small boat in mid-channel. When passing over Kettle Bottom Shoals, some thirty miles above, between the openings of St. Clement's Creek on the north and Nomini Creek on the south, some faint lines of the "second river bottom" banks reveal themselves in the hinterland and on the Virginia side they come boldly to the water's edge in the abrupt rise of Nomini Cliffs. These at their highest reach one hundred and fifty feet, an altitude not challenged again at the water's edge except in the narrows below the Falls. The effect, however, is mild unless one be in a small boat and nose in shore under their frowning heights, when sharp contrast produces an effect so easily modified by perspective from mid-channel. The flat aspect of the land nearer the river's mouth is seen no more above this point. The waters gradually narrow to four and three miles, and sometimes even to one mile when in sight of the Capital, which gives to the rolling shores a more encompassing and protecting effect. For the most part, the shores themselves are low, perhaps forty feet at most, but the bottom lands stretch back to rises of from three to four times this elevation. The ridges are not always retiring and

sometimes, especially higher up along the course, they rise a little boldly nearer the water's edge. In such places the winding channel unfolds most pleasing panoramas and the bold banks move apart in revelation of newer and newer vistas.

But the scenery about the landings is scarcely ever stimulating. It is gentle and kindly, graceful and smiling, leisurely and deliberate. The Potomac is an aristocrat among rivers; usually benignant, yet with the easily assumed fury of a petty tyrant, especially when a nor'wester drives down a Virginia cove and lashes the surface of the broad waters. Then its blues and greens grow angry black and its mischievous whitecaps drive the small craft scurrying to the lee of a sheltering point or into the quiet of a shallow inlet, and even compel larger craft to furl their sails and drop anchor on the channel banks. This does not happen often. The more habitual aspect of the river is peaceful and benevolent.

The current of most of tidewater Potomac is negligible and imperceptible. The tides move majestically in and out twice daily, to be recognized by the three-foot margin of damp about the piles which support the landings or on the sandy beach, by the tilt of the channel marks, or by the ease or strain of the oar pulling before it. Along shore the water in fair weather is nearly always clear. Over the pebbly bottom, as through a pane of glass, one sees the nervous, darting schools of young fish, the more deliberate turtle, or perhaps the sinuous water-snake. In the channel the waters are more opaque, and if they do not reveal a white floor underneath they nearly always snatch the colours of a

GREAT FALLS OF THE POTOMAC

Situated about ten miles above the city of Washington. Below the Falls the Potomac broadens to receive the tidal waters which mark it an arm of the Chesapeake Bay from this point to its mouth. Below the Falls is the Potomac of the old landings, of the early colonial settlements, and of the homes of the Washingtons, Lees, Hansons, Calverts, Masons, Monroes, Carters, and other great characters who played prominent rôles in the founding of the nation.

CALVERT'S BAY

Near the mouth of the Potomac at sunset when the tide is low. In the middle distance is the mouth of Smith's Creek. At the extreme left is the mouth of the St. Mary's River on which Leonard Calvert made the first white settlement on the river, in 1634, when he founded St. Mary's City.

smiling sky and so they are true to their familiar name of "the blue Potomac." For the most part the movement on the river is under the white sails of the gillers, the oystermen and the woodmen, and the occasional square rig of an ice carrier beating around from Maine. Less frequently a nebulous shadow of smoke betrays one of the daily steamers poking about from creek to creek and from landing to landing.

The traveller standing well forward under the flagstaff with its beating halyards, the pale wisp from a single smoke-stack trailing low behind, finds the height diminishes the hull to a mere speck on the far-reaching river, and to him the green, billowy shores, the occasional white pillars of the planters' mansions, the always numerous sails, the decaying and usually deserted landings, and above all the unbroken serenity of water, land, and sky, speak the broad margin to life along the Potomac.

In point of colonization it is one of our earliest settled waterways. The significant events which have transpired on its waters or on its shores mark it in interest second to no other American river. The men who were born along its way or settled there, and there developed their immortal careers, give it a distinction shared by no other river in this hemisphere. Not only is it, throughout its tidal length, hallowed with matchless historic figures but at the tidal head stands the city which is the epitome of our national life.

The old landings themselves indeed reach out from the shores of yesterdays. If life is somewhat faded, at least it is perfumed with the lavender of priceless traditions and achievements and romance. Looked at

through the eyes of history focused on the old chronicles, the colonial records, the parish vestry books, the old statutes and wills and diaries and letters, the vivid features of the early days assert themselves; the canoes of the Indians dart again along the river; the shallops of John Smith and the other adventurers sail its course; the pinnaces of Lord Baltimore search its shores and find a haven; the square-rigged clippers from England bring luxuries and dainties to the planters and their dames; the landings bend and creak or straighten and steady under the tobacco cargoes; the plantations renew the life of plenty and ease and splendour; the big-wigged cavaliers and the brocaded ladies people the lofty porticoes and the broad halls of the mansions; the candles twinkle and the fiddles scrape the measures of the minuet and reel; the foxes fly before the pink-coated hunting squires; the coachman's whip cracks over leader and wheel horse as the coaches roll off to weddings and routs; and many is the grave discussion and eloquent appeal as Independence is determined and the Constitution of the new nation is framed.

The story of tidewater Potomac is a tale of all the elements which are woven into the romance and splendour of the nation's history.

CHAPTER II

Explorers—Origin of the River's Name—The First White Man—The Spaniards—Captain John Smith—His Cruise in an Open Barge—Old Indian Towns—Boyish Harry Spelman—His Flight with the King—His Tragic Death—Captain Samuel Argoll, the Rugged—Pocahontas on the Potomac—Captain Henry Fleet, the Shrewd.

THE story of the Potomac River, in common with the stories of most great rivers, begins where the river leaves off. It begins not at its source but at its mouth.

The name is derived from an Indian word which has passed through the mutations of three centuries of varied spelling. It first appeared in John Smith's narrative of his voyage in the Chesapeake and its tributaries and on his admirable map of tidewater Virginia.* On this map it is spelled Patawomeck. In the text the variation begins at once and persists with abandon. Other writers—of grants, deeds, wills, and letters, as well as of reports and "narratives" and histories—took up the game of varying the spelling with amusing results until about one hundred years ago when apparently by general consent the present familiar form was finally accepted.

There are two lonely instances of early maps showing the river under other names. One of these maps, said

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*This map is reproduced inside the cover of this volume.

to have been made in England by a surveyor sent over by the King in 1610, displays four names for the four principal rivers of tidewater Virginia, which appears to have been an arbitrary compliment to royalty. The James River is shown as King's River, the York as Prince's River, the Rappahannock as Queen's River, and the Potomac as Elisabeth River for the princess of that name. These names survive, however, only on this map. The other instance was Farrer's map published in 1651, on which it is called the "Maryland River."

It is a nice question whether the name Potomac, or Patawomeck as it first appears, was given to the river by reason of the most powerful band of Indians on its shores who bore the same name, or whether these Indians took their name from the river they dominated. Inquiry into the meaning of the word inclines to the belief that the river was named after the Indians. Heckewelder shifted the original spelling slightly into a word meaning "they are coming to water, drawing near in crafts and canoes." Father Jacker, a Jesuit student, derives the word from the Odjibwe word "Botomey" which specifically means swarms of newly hatched fish, which he freely adapts in this connection "river full of swarms of small fry—where fishes spawn in shoals." Other interpretations are "river of swans" and "the burning pine, resembling a council fire." These interpretations pale, however, before the more recent and searching studies of Tooker who, in his studies in Indian names, identifies the word as an Algonquin term, "Patow-om-eke," meaning "to bring again, they go and come," or by freer rendering "travel-

ing traders, or peddlers." To the obvious question, "traders and peddlers of what?", he answers with strong support that they mined the steatite deposits up Occoquon Creek and bartered this valuable mineral up and down the river. Hence it would appear that the Potomac was named after a particular band of Indian traders on its shores.

The identity of the first white man to look upon the waters of the Potomac is left to conjecture. It is believed by some that the early Spanish explorers, who made voyages into the Chesapeake between 1565 and 1570, actually sailed up the Potomac as far as Occoquon. The narratives of these voyages are not easily accessible and those who would yield priority in the Potomac to the Spanish base their contention, in part at least, on the phonetic similarity between "Axacan" of the Spanish missionary chronicles and "Occoquon" the name of the Indian town and creek on the Potomac. These chronicles tell in detail of a tragic trip by land to Axacan made by the missionaries in 1570, the treachery of their guide, and the massacre of the whole party. The next year a relief expedition was sent from Florida to "St. Mary's bay which is 37° N" (the Chesapeake). It reached "Axacan," but it was too late to take back more than the story of the tragedy.

There is somewhat less conjectural evidence to support the belief that if the Potomac had not been explored by the English as early as 1585, its existence at least was known to them at that time. The evidence survives in an early map, made by John White, an artist who accompanied one of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia expeditions, and preserved in the British Museum. The

crude lines of this map show knowledge of at least the first four rivers on the west side of Chesapeake Bay (Chefepiooc Sinus—). The relation of the Bay and its tributaries to the points of the compass is just ninety degrees off, but the outlines of the drawing are so accurate as to seem to be the product of actual exploration, although none of the tributaries of the Bay are named. The meanderings of the James are easily recognized. Next above is a remarkably exact drawing of the York with the Mattapony and the Pamunky at its head. The mouth only of the Rappahannock is sketched. Above this is the Potomac and so much of its direction as is not concealed by the elaborate decorative medallion indicates actual acquaintance with its lines. Whether White drew from his own acquaintance with the Potomac, or from the relation of other explorers, or from the accounts of the Indians, seems to be a matter for conjecture.

The first white explorer, known definitely to have seen the Potomac, was none other than the valiant and versatile Captain John Smith, who not only saw and sailed the river, but after one voyage made a map thereof which is astonishingly accurate, and by his own hand and by the hands of "Walter Russell, Doctor of Physicke; Thomas Momford, Gentleman; and Anas Todkill, Soldier," left the earliest written, at least the earliest surviving, description of the river.

Captain Smith arrived in Virginia early in 1607. The following year, as soon as the spring planting had been accomplished, he set out to explore the Chesapeake. The voyage was made in "an open Barge neare three tuns burthen" with fourteen adventurers aboard in

addition to the Captain. They entered the Potomac on the sixteenth of June.

Along the first thirty miles they saw no inhabitants. Then they encountered an ambuscade "to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strongly paynted grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have shewed more terrible." The powder and bullets of the English surprised the savages, however, and quickly intimidated them. Farther along other Indians displayed an equally warlike opposition. But in the upper part of tidewater the natives were more friendly and, according to the Captain, "did their best to content us."

Smith found the river "navigable one hundred and fortie miles," a reasonably accurate statement under the circumstances. But he was nearer the truth when he described it as "fed with many sweet Rivers and Springs which fall from the bordering Hils. These Hils many of them are planted and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit than the River exceedeth with abundance of fish." He found the shores inhabited on both sides, the natives living in communities called towns, the largest of which, Patowmeck Town, boasting two hundred fighting men. The proportion of warriors to women, children, and other men has been estimated as three to ten which gave the Patowmecks a general population of more than 650 inhabitants.

"Having gone so high as we could with the bote," says the Smith chronicle, "we met divers Salvages in Canowes, well laden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places above the ground

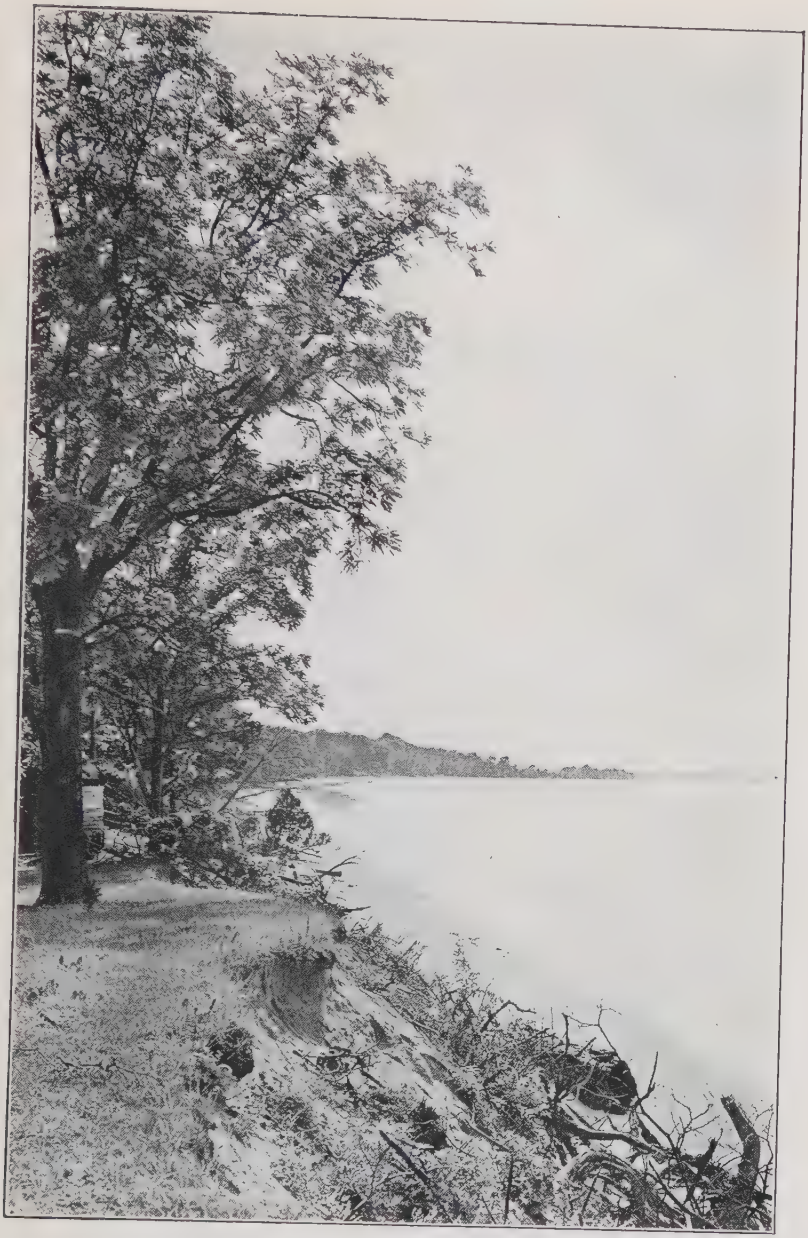
as high as the shrubbery trees, and divers other solid quarries of divers tinctures." It is not difficult by this description to recognize a side trip up one of the tributary creeks.

Resuming the main channel of the river, under the direction of the guides furnished by "the king of Patawomeke" they set out for "a little river called Quiyough" which from its position on Smith's map has been identified variously as Aquia Creek and Occoquon Creek. Etymologists have unblushingly undertaken feats more daring than to harmonize the sound of "Quiyough" with that of "Aquia," but in this case the explorers were searching for mines, or quarries, which have later been located on the upper Occoquon.

They found the mine "a great Rocky mountain like Antimony," says Smith, wherein the Indians "digged a great hole with shells & hachets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of Christel-like water, where they wash away the dross and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all over the country to paint their bodyes, faces or Idols; which makes them looke like Blackmores dusted over with silver."

Although the search for this mine was one of the objects of this cruise up the Potomac, all they got "proved of no value." Among the other occasions given for the adventure was to learn if possible "whether the bay was endlesse or how far it extended," a hint of the then still prevalent hope to find the short cut through to India. Instead of which, in addition to a few "Bevers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes" they found "that aboundance of fish, lying so thick with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge

Occoquon Creek Above the Village



A Stretch of Potomac Beach

At Cedar Grove, in King George County, Virginia. The tide-lapped sand swings in a gentle curve toward Metomkin Point, directly east of Maryland Point.

driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of us ever seen in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught by frying pans." Having come to this definite conclusion, it is interesting to find that when, by reason of the ebbtide, their boat was left aground in the shallow waters of the channel bank, the Captain, "sporting himselfe" by nailing the fish to the bottom with his sword, set all his companions to fishing in this same original manner, "and thus we tooke more in one houre than we could eate in a day."

Smith returned to the James River and there is no record that he came again into the Potomac. He appears not only to have been the first white man on the river, but he was also its first historian and its first cartographer of any degree of accuracy. He wrote from report as well as from observation, and if the accuracy with which he sets out the course of the river be any token of his accuracy in setting out the first census of the Indian inhabitants, then a considerable dependence can be placed on his information as to the state of the river in 1608.

"The fourth river is called Patawomeke, 6 or 7 myles in breadth," he writes in his Historie of Virginia. "It is inhabited on both sides. First at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco & hath some 130 men, beyond them Sekacawone with 30. The Onawanient with 100. And the Patawomekes more than 200. Here doth the river divide itself into three or four convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trending

northwest, but the river itselfe turneth Northeast, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is Tauxenant with 40 men." Returning to the mouth of the river and setting out the Indian settlements on the Maryland side, he continues: "On the north of this river is Secowomoco with 40. Somewhat further Potapaco with 20. In the East part is Pamacaeack with 60. After Moyowance with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80. The river above this place maketh his passage down a low pleasant valley overshadowed in many places with high rocky mountains; from whance distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs."

By comparison with his map of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, and having in mind that his census refers to fighting men, it is possible to give these localities by their modern names with the total original population of each. Wighcocomoco (a name surviving as Wyecomico, Wicomico, and Yeocomico) with its 433 men, women, and children, was on the Virginia side at the very mouth of the river. Sekacawone with 100 inhabitants was on the south side of the Coan River. Onawanient with 333 inhabitants appears to have been on the north side of Nomini Creek. The largest settlement on the river was that of the Patawomekes with 666 inhabitants, but there is uncertainty as to its location. In general this has been given as the modern Marlboro Point on the north of the entrance to Potomac Creek, Tauxenant with a population of 133 is placed on the map at the head of a Virginia creek which in relative position and exact form tallies with that point of land formed by the confluence of Pohick and Accotink creeks

at the head of Gunston Cove. On the Maryland side he locates Secowomoco, with a population of 133, on the east side of the Wicomico River. Potapaco, with 67, is easily recognizable by sound as well as by its position on the map as Port Tobacco, a name apparently anglicized from this Indian word, or possibly from another similar word, "Pertafacca," whose meaning would be descriptive of its position in the hollow of the hills. Smith's map is not sufficiently accurate in outline and directions from Maryland Point to Washington City to make it possible definitely to locate Pamacaeack with its 200 inhabitants, but it was apparently between Mattawomen Creek and Pomunkey Creek. The Moyowance with 333 inhabitants appear to have been resident somewhere near the later Marshall Hall and the Nacotchtanke with 267 are shown at the head of what appears to be Piscataway Creek.

Indian community life is graphically told of by Hugh Jones in his "Present State of Virginia" in these quaint terms: "As to the Government and life of the *Indians*, they live in a kind of patriarchial Manner, varioufly diverfifyed, not unlike the Tribes and Families mentioned in the *Old Teftament*. Every fmall Town is a petty Kingdom govern'd by an abfolute *Monarch*, affifted and advifed by his *Great Men*, felected out of the graveft, oldeft, braveft, and richeft; if I may allow their Dear-Skins, *Peak* and *Roenoak* (black and white shells with Holes, which they wear on Strings about their Arms and Necks) to be wealth.

"Sometimes there are general *Emperors*, who have feveral petty Kingdoms in fome meafure under their Protection and Power. [Such an one was Powhattan

who ruled all tidewater Virginia including the towns on the Potomac.]

"They dwell in Towns ſome twenty, ſome a hundred Miles, and ſome farther from one another, each town having a particular *Jargon* and particular Cuſtoms; though for the moſt Part they agree in certain Signs, Expreſſions, and Manners. . . .

"They cohibit in ſome hundreds of Families, and fix upon the richeſt Ground to build their wooden Houſes, which they place in a circular Form, meanly defended with Pales, and covered with Bark; the middle Area (or Forum) being for common uſes and publick Occaſions. The Women in order to plant their *Indian Corn* and *Tobacco* (to clear the Ground of Trees) cut the Bark round; ſo that they die and don't ſhade the Ground, and decay in time.

"Whenever we meet with an old *Indian Field*, or place where they have lived, we are ſure of the beſt Ground. They all remove their Habitation for fear of their Enemies, or for the Sake of Game and Proviſion. . . .

"All the Country is but one continued Foreſt, with patches of ſome hundred Acres here and there cleared, either being formerly ſeated by *Indians*, or the trees being burnt in Fire-Hunting, or cut down for Plantations."

Smith had been gone but a year when there next appeared one of the truly romantic figures among all the early adventurers on the river. This was Harry Spelman, scarcely more than a boy, the third son of Sir Henry Spelman, of Congham, Norfolk. "Beinge in diſpleaſuer of my friendes and deſirous to ſee other countryes," he confessed in his "Relation" of his Vir-

ginia adventures, he left England and reached the James River late in 1609. The next year while the King of the Potomacs was on a visit to his sovereign Powhatan an interest sprang up between the visiting Indian Chief and the English boy, and when the former started north the young Englishman ran away and followed him across the wilderness to his home on the Potomac. This fidelity sealed their friendship and the King of the Potomacs shielded the runaway from the anger of the mighty Powhatan.

Thereafter for many years Spelman enjoyed the friendship of the Indians on the Potomac, traded up and down the river, and became, on the testimony of Captain John Smith himself, "one of the best Interpreters in the Land." On one of his last trips "for trucke" Spelman had on his bark, the *Elisabeth*, one Captain Croshaw, another trader of experience, who remained with the Potomacs when Spelman and his pinnace returned down to the lower bay. Shortly after Croshaw's companions departed the King of the Potomacs received a bribe from Opechancanough to kill the trader. The friendly relations between Croshaw and the Potomacs is witnessed by the fact that the King gave him information of the bribe, where at the doughty Captain replied that the threats of Opechancanough "he feared not, nor for his favoured cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his, with their own swords."

In 1623, while on an expedition into the Potomac to trade for grain and provisions, Spelman fell a victim to an angry condition between the Indians and the whites in the southern part of the colony. He had ascended to a point near the site of the present city of Washington.

With all but five of his ship's company he had gone ashore when natives slipped off in their canoes and boarded his ship. One of the sailors, to frighten the intruders, discharged "a peece of Ordnance" quite at random. Thereupon the Indians leaped overboard distracted with fear, left their canoes behind, and swam for the shore. Apparently the sailors had saved the day. Presently, however, they heard a great noise among the savages on shore and saw a man's head thrown down the bank. It was Harry Spelman's. But how he "was surprised or slaine is uncertaine," and dropping into rhyme the historian of this incident adds with a comfortable philosophy:

"Thus things proceed and vary not a jot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not."

Captain Samuel Argoll, who appeared on the Potomac within a few months after young Spelman joined the Potomacs in 1610, although reputed a seasoned mariner, was at the time under thirty years of age. His great exploit was performed on a later trip thither in March-April, 1613. He described it in a letter sent back to England in the month of June following. He had been trading in the river. "While I was in this businesse," he said, "I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the Great Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowomeck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan: as also to get such armes and tooles, as hee, and other Indians had got by murther and stealing from others

of our Nation, with some quantatie of Corne, for the Colonies reliefe. So soone as I came to an anchor before the Towne, I manned my Boate and sent on shoare, for the King of Pastancy and Ensigne Swift (whom I had left as a pledge of our love and truce, the Voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him: whom after I had received, I brake the matter to this King, and told him, that if he did not betray Pokohuntis into my hands; we would be no longer brothers nor friends. Hee alleaged, that if hee should undertake this businesse, then Powhatan would make warrs upon him and his people; but upon my promise, that I would joyne with him against him, hee repaired presently to his brother, the great King of Patowomeck, who being made acquainted with the matter, called his Counsell together: and after some few houres deliberation, concluded rather to deliver her into my hands, then lose my friendship: so presently, he betrayed her into my Boat, wherein I carried her aboord my ship. This done, an Indian was dispatched to Powhatan, to let him know, that I had taken his Daughter: and if he would send home the Englishmen (whom he had detained in slaverie, with such armes and tooles, as the Indians had gotten, and stolne) and also a great quantitie of Corne, that then, he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not. This newes much grieved this great King, yet, without delay, he returned the messenger with this answer. That he desired me to use his daughter well, and bring my ship into his River, and there he would give mee my demands: which being performed, I should deliver him his Daughter, and we should be friends.

"Having received this answere, I presently departed from Patowomeck, being the 13. of Aprill and repayred with all speed to Sir T. Gates, to know of him upon what condition he would conclude this peace, and what he would demand: to whom I also delivered my prisoner, towards whose ransome within few days, this King sent home seven of our men, who seemed to be very joyfull for thet they were freed from the slavery and feare of cruell murther, which they daily before lived in. They brought also three pieces, one broad Axe, and a long Whip-Saw, and one Canoe of Corne. I beeing quit of my prisoner, went forward with the Frigat which I had left at Point Comfort, and finished her."

The last of these wandering adventurers to identify himself conspicuously with the Potomac before the coming of the settlers and civilization was Captain Henry Fleet. He was a rougher character than the boyish Spelman or the shrewd Argoll. The old chronicles yield a sketchy figure of him. During a long life as trader, interpreter, and intermediary between Indians and whites the main chance seems to have been the keystone of his ethics. He was at the service of all factions, and he appears to have made small shift of playing Indian against white, white against Indian, or stirring the pot of earliest Maryland and Virginia differences so that he might help himself to the skimmings. For all that he had his virtues. He was a shrewd trader, had the confidence of the Indians, and made himself invaluable to the somewhat reluctant whites. Above all, he knew the river as no white man before him. His ships, he owned three, were for years almost the solitary sails to cheer the Indians who knew their coming each spring

and summer meant English goods and tools, trinkets and liquors, in exchange for the last crop of corn and the furs accumulated during a winter's hunting.

Fleet first came into the Potomac on the *Tiger*, the ship which took Spelman to the head of tidewater on his last and fatal voyage. He was among the twenty-one men who landed, and although his life was spared he was made a prisoner and held in captivity for several years before he was ransomed and resumed his roving life. Later he described the neighbourhood of his captivity, obviously near the site of the present capital of the United States, in his diary: "This place without question is the most pleasant and healthful in all this country, and most convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer, and not violent in winter. It aboundeth in all manner of fish. The Indians in one night will commonly catch thirty sturgeons in a place where the river is not above three fathom broad. And as for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them, and the soil is exceedingly fertile, but above this place the country is rocky and mountainous like Cannida. The 27th of June I manned my shallop, and went up with the flood, the tide rising four feet, at this place. We had not rowed above three miles, but we might hear the Falls to roar, about six miles distant." Certainly four feet was a record tide for this neighbourhood. As for the roar of the Falls being audible at six miles, perhaps the scene was quieter and the ear of the trader was keener than ears are to-day. Fleet will appear briefly later to play a striking rôle in the selection of the site for the first white man's settlement on the river.

Captain John Smith, Henry Spelman, and Captain Samuel Argoll all sent home graphic accounts of the Potomac, its natural beauties, its deep waters and snug harbours, its quantities of fish and game, its endless forests "with the goodliest Trees for Masts that may bee found else-where in the world," and its fertile soil and its abundant wild products. These narratives were quickly published, in the main as propaganda to stimulate the disaffected, the speculative, and the adventurous to go out to the American colonies. They were singularly truthful. The occasional statements which may appear highly coloured took their hue less from the imagination of the propagandist than from the enthusiasm of the adventurer and the genuine contrasts which were found between the climate, country, and resources of England and of tidewater Potomac.

CHAPTER III

Pioneers—Lord Baltimore's Colony—The *Ark* and the *Dove*—Governor Leonard Calvert at Piscataway—Founding the Capital of Maryland at St. Mary's—The Great Grant of the Northern Neck—Colonizing on the Coan—Acquiring Title to Virgin Land—Importance of the Creeks—Forest Clearing and Cabin Building—Contests with Primitive Nature—Birds, Beasts, and Fish—Indian Problems—Father White—Margaret Brent.

CLOSE upon the explorers came the settlers. The first white colonization on the Potomac was made in 1634 on the arrival of Leonard Calvert and his company in two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, sent from England by his brother, Cecelius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to settle on the north shore of the river, on lands for which he had a royal grant from King Charles I.

During the interval of twenty-six years between the appearance of the first known white explorer and the first white colonist, the Indians remained in undisputed possession of their lands. If along the shores there were fishermen's huts or trappers' cabins the old chronicles do not report them. Production seems to have been left to the Indian, and the white engaged himself wholly in shipping and trade until the arrival of Lord Baltimore's adventurers. The waters were probably undisturbed by boats larger than the barks and shallops of the traders who tacked from creek to creek gathering corn and furs and returning to the lower bay to trans-

fer their light cargoes to larger freighting ships which crossed the Atlantic. When the *Ark* of three hundred tons and the *Dove* of five hundred tons appeared in the river the natives were terrorized and flew to arms. On seeing the larger ship the scouts reported that the whites had come "in a canow as bigg as an Iland, with so many men as trees were in a wood." In spite of the limited size of the boats which the early traders brought into the river, however, they appear to have conducted a trade of no mean proportions, for it was advertised in England in 1633 that a certain merchant had the year before exported from the Potomac alone beaver skins to the value of 40,000 gold crowns.

Leonard Calvert entered the Potomac on March 5 and sailed up about thirty miles, in the terms of one of the first letters to be sent back to England, "till wee came to Heron Ilands, ſo called from the infinite ſwarmes of that fowle there. The firſt of thoſe Ilands we called Saint Clement's [now Blackistone after later owners]: the ſecond Saint Katherine's; and the third Saint Cicilie's. We took land firſt in St. Clement's which is compaſſed about with a ſhallow water and admits no acceſſe without wading; here by the overturning of a ſhallop, the maids which had been waſhing at the land were almoſt drowned, beſide the loſſe of much linnen, and amongſt the rest I loſt mine which is a very maine loſſe in theſe parts." Here they felled a tree, made it into a rude cross which they set up and, continues the letter, "wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Governor and Commiſſioners putting their hands firſt unto it, and then the reſt of the chief adventurers. At the place prepared wee all kneeled

downe, & faid certaine Prayers; taking poffeffion of the Country for Our Saviour and for our fovereigne Lord the King of England."

Advised not to land for good and all until arriving at an understanding with the Indian Emperor at Piscataway Governor Calvert took two pinnaces, and sailed up the river. The party touched at Patoemack Towne and thence continued to Piscataway, "as a noble feat as could be wifhed and as good ground as I fuppofe is in all Europe," which gives its ancient name to the creek which spreads eastward in full view of Mount Vernon, about fourteen miles south of the present national capital. On the way, with good fortune, they fell in with no other than Captain Henry Fleet, who attached himself to the party as guide and interpreter. Once at their destination, while negotiations advanced between the Governor and the Emperor, the natives admired the white men's boat "which was brought in pieces out of England," and the visitors who could understand found it amusing to hear the Indians' comments, for they "called it a Canow, and wondering where so great a tree grew that made it, conceiving it to be made of one piece, as their canows are."

If Calvert fancied Piscataway as the site for his capital, since it had great natural advantages and beauty and was nearer the centre of the royal grant, he received none too pressing an invitation to remain there. So the visit of state concluded, the party sailed back to their original anchorage off St. Clement's Island and on the advice of the accomplished Fleet the whole company dropped down the Potomac seventeen miles farther where, on the northern side, they found an estuary which

stretched inland in a northerly direction for six miles. This they named St. Mary's River and on the high ground on the eastern bank about five miles from, but in full view of, the Potomac, "amid the booming of cannon," they established the capital of the colony and the first white settlement on the Potomac. Their colony had already been named Maryland in honour of Henrietta Maria, wife of the royal grantor, Charles I, and the town they now called St. Mary's.

The Baltimore enterprise introduced two new elements into the life of the American colonies. One was political, for the Proprietor of Maryland ruled under a grant which privileged him to erect manors and to appoint lords thereof who were empowered to hold "courts leet and baron." The other new element was religious. The Lords Baltimore were Roman Catholics and in establishing their colony they sought freedom of religious worship for those of their own faith, a privilege they did not withhold from others of any faith whatever. It was therefore on the banks of the Potomac, at its very mouth and by its first white settlers, that freedom of conscience was first established on this continent.

Father White, missionary and chronicler, wrote home: "This [the Potomac] is the sweetest and greatest river I have ever seene, so that the Thames is but a little finger to it. There are noe marshes or swampes about it, but solid firme ground, with great variety of woode, not choaked up with undershrubs, but commonly so farre distant from each other as a coach and fower horses may travele without molestation. The soyle is so excellent that we cannot sett downe a foot, but tread on

Strawberries, raspires, fallen mulberrie vines, acchorns, walnutts, saxafras, etc. and those in the wildest woods. The ground is commonly a black mould above, and a foot within ground of a readish colour. All is high woods except where the Indians have cleared for corne. It abounds with delicate springs which are our best drinks. Birds diversely feathered there are infinite, as eagles, swans, hernes, geese, bitters, duckes, partridge read, blew, partie coloured, and the like, by which will appeare, the place abounds not alone with profit, but also with pleasure."

The province, of which St. Mary's was made the capital, was bounded on almost its entire southern border by the Potomac River, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and extended to the north so far as the southern boundary of William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania, including all of Chesapeake Bay, and westward to limits which were, in the sweeping terms of the noble grantee, "an almost boundless continent which extends to the China Sea." This was referred to as "probably the largeft eftate in the World belonging to anyone Perfon that is not a Prince," and the Proprietor held it of the crown at the price of "the delivery of two Indian arrows yearly at the palace of Windsor and the fifth of all gold and silver mined."

The clearings for the first cabins and first plantings at St. Mary's were ready made for the settlers, for they established themselves on thirty miles of land already cleared and cultivated by the Indians from whom they purchased it, "to avoid all occasion of dislike and colour of wrong. . . . for axes, hoes, cloth, and hatchets." It is interesting to notice these little niceties of obliga-

tion. They are not frequent. So soon they are done for one wonders what they were begun for.

Having made a beginning in housing themselves against the elements and in starting their crops, with the Englishman's instinct for order, they at once set about making laws for themselves. The first Assembly for Maryland sat at St. Mary's February 26, 1635, in less than a year after the first shipment of colonists had sailed up the Potomac. This immediately precipitated trouble with the Proprietor who claimed for himself the exclusive right to originate legislation. He was at the double disadvantage, however, of being separated from his recalcitrant colony by a broad ocean and of having to deal with a group of settlers whose dominant idea in the adventure and sacrifice they had made was freedom. Their perseverance in refusing to abide by any legislation except of their own framing prevailed, and the Proprietor acquiesced with the best grace possible. Thereafter the Proprietorship was in its legislative aspect a fiction, and the Assembly at St. Mary's made its own laws although the Governor continued to be appointed by the Proprietor in England.

It was some time after the founding of St. Mary's that attention was given to the south shore of the Potomac as a site for settlement. The Potomac River was reserved by the lower Virginia settlements as merely a waterway into a savage wilderness to bear occasional trading and "trucking" expeditions. These settlements to the south were mostly confined to the James River and crept north slowly and almost entirely along the western shore of the lower Bay. Two early "Lists of the Number of Men, Women and Children"

in the Virginia colony survive, one of 1623 and one of 1634. Neither of these lists mentions a colonist on or anywhere near the Potomac.

The adventurers among the English nobility had paid little attention to these remote regions on the south shore, for it was only after the Baltimore colony had been established on the north shore for upward of five years that the King was petitioned for a grant of land on the opposite side of the river. The petitioners asked for all the land between the Rappahannock and the Potomac and noted that it was "not yet inhabited." This vast domain has from the beginning of Virginia maintained an integrity and an identity all its own and has been known from its earliest settlement as The Northern Neck. Nothing came of this petition, but the idea was vaguely alive, and after another decade King Charles II, in exile on the continent, granted this same entire neck of land between these rivers "up to their heads" to several Lords, Lord Hopton; Henry, Lord Jermyn, afterward Earl of St. Albans; John, Lord Culpepper; Sir John, afterward Lord Berkeley of Stratton; Sir William Morton, later one of the Justices of the King's Bench; Sir Dudley Wyatt and Thomas Culpepper. Political confusion in England clouded the title, which was not cleared until many years later by another royal grant, if indeed it was ever cleared satisfactorily.

It was not, however, from England, nor yet from the neighbourhood of the James, that the first settlers came to the Virginia shore of the Potomac. It has been seen how religious toleration was established in Maryland. Theoretically ideal and sound, practically this tol-

eration worked out in confusion, heartburn, and wrath. Disaffected Protestants did the simple and natural thing. With the unaffected directness of pioneers they got out. But they did not have far to go to find a virgin haven blessed with all the natural charm of their late home. They steered their boats to the Virginia side of the Potomac and there they made the first white settlement on the south shore of the river, opposite St. Mary's, at the point where Captain John Smith had found the Sekacawone Indians on the east bank of the Coan.

So far as Virginia was concerned this was indeed an outpost of civilization, for miles of forest, unbroken except by the tidal estuaries, separated the cabins of these colonists from the nearest settlements on the south, beyond Mobjack Bay on the Chesapeake. They did not trouble themselves about the muddled title to the vast Northern Neck, to whose tip they clung, neither did they concern themselves with their obligations to the colonial government at Jamestown. Though these remote pioneers were less actual than theoretical tax-dodgers, it was to wring tithes out of them that the Jamestown government first bestowed attention on them, and eventually it required a military expedition to impress them with the fact that they were in Virginia and under the beneficent wing of an administration whose breath and being was sustained by the same vulgar support which has sustained all administrations since history began.

Having paid their taxes they were keenly quick to see that obligations do not travel single but are as a rule yoked up with rights. So it was that the following year,

1647, Mr. William Presley sailed out of the Potomac, down the Bay and into the James, and presented himself as the representative of the inhabitants of "Chilawone alias Northumberland," and was received as their delegate and seated. The taxes in question were assessed in tobacco: "For every hundred acres of land 15 lbs of tobacco. For every cow above 3 years old 15 lbs of tobacco."

The first land tenure on the river was in the vast term of the whole Northern Neck and of Lord Baltimore's principality which account for both shores of all tidewater Potomac. The first smaller holdings in Maryland were generally compensation from the Proprietor to an emigrant for going "out to the colony." The individual was allowed one hundred acres for himself and one hundred additional acres for each male servant whom he brought out, but for a woman servant only sixty acres were allowed. A married man was allowed not only one hundred acres for himself but one hundred acres if accompanied by his wife and fifty acres for each child. Any woman bringing her children was granted the same terms. If a colonist brought with him five men between the ages of sixteen and fifty he was given one thousand acres.

The servants so brought out were as a rule indentured for four years. At the end of that time they were given fifty acres of land, a whole year's supply of corn, "three suites of apparel, with things necessary to them and tools to work withal, so that they are no sooner free but they are ready to set up for themselves."

How those disaffected Maryland emigrants who settled in Northumberland got title is wrapped in doubt.

It is probable they had on their side no more than the nine points of the law given by possession. Later settlers about them and farther up river took land under terms quite different from all the rest of Virginia. The general practice elsewhere in Virginia was thus chronicled by the ancient Stith: "Fifty acres were allowed to thofe, who came, or brought others over . . . and I likewife find, in the old Records, that upon peopling and faving thefe hundred, or fifty Acres (the Terms of which I can nowhere find) they were entitled to the like Quantity more, to be held and feated at their leifure. But befides this, there were two other Methods of granting Lands. The one was upon Merrit: When any Perfon had conferred a Benefit, or done Service, to the Company or Colony, they would beftow such a proportion of Land upon him. However, to prevent excefs in this Particular, they were reftrained, by his Majefty's Letters Patent, not to exceed twenty great Shares, or two thoufand Acres, in any of thefe Grants. The other was called Adventure of the Purfe: every Person, who paid twelve Pounds ten fhillings into the Company's Treafury, having thereby a Title to an hundred Acres of Land, anywhere in Virginia, that had not been before granted to, or poffeffed by others." These tracts were held in freehold by patent under the King, the owner paying two shillings as a yearly Quit-Rent for every hundred acres.

The first means of obtaining a grant, as above set out by Stith, was known as "the head right." This was entirely unknown in the Northern Neck. Here land was secured by purchase. The scale of prices for taking up land varied according to quantity. For each

ST. MARY'S RIVER

Looking north from a point below the site of the first capital of the colony of Maryland.

one hundred acres in a tract of less than six hundred acres the price was five shillings. For each one hundred acres in a tract of more than six hundred acres the price was ten shillings. If metal money or currency was not available it was permissible to pay for the land in an equivalent of tobacco.

As the land along the river was almost entirely virgin forest, metes and bounds of holdings were marked by the primitive method of notching the trees along boundaries and at corners. Not only were these notches recognized as legal marks but "every five or seven years all People are obliged to go a Procession round their own Bounds and renew their Landmarks by cutting fresh Notches in the boundary Trees."

A large part of the boundary of nearly every settler's holdings was, however, the tide-lapped shore of the great river or one of its estuaries. Water front was essential to the pioneer no matter how high up the inlet, for the water was at first his only public road, his right of way from his fields and dwelling, whether he rowed to his neighbours or sailed out on the broad waters of the main highway.

It was in fact only when the creek shores had been occupied that the settlers "took up" land on the river proper. Every consideration of economy and protection drove him first into the inlets which he and those following him even unto to-day call creeks. They burrow into the big river's side for miles, often with channel depths of thirty feet, twisting and turning, dividing into additional creeks, throwing out picturesque points, and developing scores of protective harbours. The wayfarer who has not explored the meanderings of

the creeks, and sought the landings behind their green points, is unacquainted with the chief charms of the "sweet waters" of the old river. Although the term "sweet" waters was frequently used, in the early "Relations," to mean "fresh" as distinguished from "salt" waters, this meaning was as often ignored by the early narrators who wrote of "these sweet waters" and the "sweetnesse of these waters" with a pictorial meaning to be appreciated only by those who know them.

The old landings as a rule avoided the long reaches across the shallow banks to the deep channel of the river proper, and retired behind the protective points of the creeks' mouths, where the reach to deep water is frequently only a few feet from shore. Here they were undisturbed by the wind-driven waters of the big river or by the ice-floes which swept down once or twice a winter from the north. The pilings of an exposed landing were often lifted up and cast adrift when the ice formed about them and the recurring tide forced its way in underneath the surface with a pressure which slowly loosed their hold on the river bottom and drew them up and cast them adrift.

The inlets along the river, although generally known as creeks, are in a few cases known as rivers, bays, and coves. The reason for the distinction is not obvious. Their feeds which flow in with the accumulation of many springs are known as runs, branches, and freshes. The inlets are tidal, their feeders have but one direction, that of their current.

There are in tidewater Potomac thirty-two major navigable creeks, and a larger number of smaller creeks, opening directly on the big river. Of the former seven-

teen are in the Virginia shore and fifteen are in the Maryland shore.

In sequence from the mouth of the river in the Virginia shore are Little Wicomico River; Coan River (with Kingscote Creek and The Glebe branching from it); Yeocomico River (with South Yeocomico River, Mill Creek, West Yeocomico River and Northwest Yeocomico River); Nomini Bay (with Currioman Bay and Nomini Creek); Mattox Creek; Rosier Creek; Upper Machodac Creek; Potomac Creek; Aquia Creek; Quantico Creek; Neabsco Creek; Occoquon Bay (with Belmont Bay and Occoquon Creek fed by Bull Run; Gunston Cove (with Pohick Bay and Accotink Bay); Dogue Creek; Little Hunting Creek and Great Hunting Creek.

In sequence from the mouth of the river in the Maryland shore are Smith's or Trinity Creek; St. Mary's River (with St. Inigoes Creek branching from it); St. George's River (with Price Creek); Bretton Bay; St. Clement's Bay (with St. Patrick's Creek); Wicomico River (with Chaptico Creek); Port Tobacco Creek; Nanjemoy Creek; Chickowoxen Creek; Mattawomen Creek; Pomunkey Creek; Piscataway Creek; Broad Creek; Oxon Creek, and Anacostia River.

Clearings were the first concern of the settlers. Leonard Calvert, in a letter written home to one of his partners two months after his arrival on the Potomac, said that on his cruise up to Piscataway he had found the virgin forest unbroken by a single Indian field. The same was doubtless true of the Virginia shore. Captain Sam Argoll wrote to Lord De La Warre that he had there found "the goodliest trees for masts that may be

found elsewhere in the world." When a tract of land was "seated" the wood was not cut at the roots but about a yard from the ground "lest it should shoot again." It was in the virginal abundance of such forests that originated the "slight fence of cleft rails," the snake or worm fence.

The first shelters were crude cabins of hewn logs, always with a spacious outside chimney. This chimney was generally of brick, for stone is rare along the river and excellent brick clay abounds. The pioneers' real building problem was not wood, nor brick, nor lime, however, but nails. So scarce were nails that when a settler moved it became the custom for him to burn down his house to retrieve the nails for use in a new building. It was on account of this scarcity of large nails that he used in their stead wooden pegs in joists and rafters, a practice which carried forward more than two centuries.

Aside from the vegetable garden's yield, the first crops were corn and tobacco. The former was the staff of pioneer life. The latter was his currency, his only medium of exchange. They were both indigenous, acquisitions from the Indians. The corn was at once called "Indian corn" to distinguish it from wheat which in England was then and has ever since been known as "corn." From the Indian the settler got not only his method of raising corn and his method of treating the kernel for food, but also the two Indian words ever since used to describe the kernel when cured in lye and when as ground meal it was cooked in the hot ashes of the open fire-place: the one "hominy" and the other "pone."

Horses had to be imported from England. Cows, hogs, and poultry were brought up from the James' settlements. Grazing animals at first had a hard time, but the swine had no difficulty "finding themselves" in the waterside woods. "Here, if the Devil had such a vagary in his head as he once had among the Gadareans," wrote George Alsop of Maryland "to My Father at his House" London, "he might drown a thousand head of Hogs and they'd ne'er be miss'd for the very Woods of this Province swarms with them."

To the fisher, the trapper, and the hunter, the river and its shores was a paradise. The water was alive with pike, shad, bass, herring, taylors, rock, crokers, perch, sheepshead, crabs, oysters, turtles, and eels; and its surface with gulls, swans, herons, geese, and duck. Among the more numerous "varmints" which enriched the trappers' snares were the racoon, the fox, the beaver, the otter, the possum, the rabbit, the squirrel, "the monack," and the muskrat.

Alsop, in his rangy Elisabethan manner, gives his father this account of the larger beasts: "As for the wilde Animals of this Country, which loosely inhabits the Woods in multitudes, it is impossible to give you an adequate description of them all, considering the multiplicity as well as the diversity of so numerous extent of creatures. . . . Herds of deer as numerous as Cuckholds can be in London, only their horns are not so well drest and tipt with silver as theirs are. . . . Their flesh in some places . . . is the common provision the inhabitants feed on. . . . the Park they traverse their ranging and unmeasured walks in is bounded and impanell'd in with no other pales than the

rough and billowed Ocean . . . and they are not at all affrighted at the face of a man. . . As for the Wolves, Bears and Panthers of this Country, they inhabit in great multitudes up in the remotest parts of the Continent; yet at some certain time they come down near the Plantations, but they do little hurt or injury worth noting, and that which they do is of so degenerate and low a nature (as with reference to the fierceness and heroick vigour that dwell in the same kind of Beasts in other Countries) that they are hardly worth mentioning: For the highest of their designs and circumventing reaches is but cowardly and base, only to steal a poor Pigg or kill a lost and half starved Calf. The Effigies of a man terrifies him dreadfully, for they no sooner espy him but their hearts are at their mouths, and the spurs upon their heels, they gallop away, and never bid them farewell that are behind them." Virginia law provided a premium for a wolf's head "with the Ears on, to prevent imposition, and cheating the Publick; for the Ears are crop'd when a head is produced."

The earliest settlers had only occasional difficulty with the neighbouring Indians. On the north shore they were from the first considerate of the prior rights of the natives; took their lands, in part at least on payment; and lived amicably with the remnant who had not moved north after the sale of the site of St. Mary's. The real trouble was with the occasional raid of "Indian Robbers and pillagers" from some distance. The Council ordered and Governor Calvert proclaimed it illegal for any inhabitant "to discharge or Concurr in the discharging of three Gunns within the Space of one quarter of an hour upon any occasion whatsoever unless upon

Mustering days," as the discharge of three guns was reserved as a signal for an Indian attack. As quickly as the signal was heard it was repeated and so the alarm was telegraphed by fire from habitation to habitation. There was a fort with six guards at St. Inigoes, and thither and to the homes of certain appointed settlers the "housekeepers" were ordered to carry their women and children. Across the river the first settlers came too late to have suffered under the great Virginia massacre of 1622, of which a reflex has been noted in upper tidewater in the beheading of Harry Spelman.

In the absence of the exact terms of any Virginia treaty with the Potomac River Indians, an idea of what would have been, or indeed may have been, the terms of such an agreement is to be had from a treaty negotiated with the Chickahominies by Captain Sam Argall who was a witness of Spelman's death and knew the Indians and had their confidence as completely as any contemporary explorer or trader, and would have been the likeliest legate of the Governor to negotiate any treaty with the tribes on the Potomac. There were six articles to his treaty embodying the following conditions:

"I. THAT they should forever be called *Englishmen*, and be true Subjects to King *James* and his Deputies:

"II. THAT they should neither kill, nor detain, any of the *English*, or their Cattle, but should bring them home:

"III. THAT they should be always ready, to furnish the *English* with three hundred Men, against the *Spaniards*, or any other Enemy:

"IV. THAT they should not enter any of the *English* Towns, before sending in Word, that they were new *Englishmen:*

"V. THAT every fighting Man, at gathering their Corn, should bring two Bushels to the Store, as a Tribute; for which he should receive as many Hatchets:

"VI. THAT the eight chief Men should see all this performed, or receive the Punishment themselves; and for their Diligence, they should have a red Coat, a Copper Chain, and King *James's* Picture, and be accounted his Noblemen."

From among the shadowy figures of the "Omnes" of the pioneer drama of the Potomac, there stand forward two striking personalities who challenge attention. They are Father Andrew White and Mistress Margaret Brent. Father White was a Jesuit missionary who accompanied Leonard Calvert in Lord Baltimore's first expedition to Maryland in 1634. He had had an active career in Europe where, after being expelled from England on account of his priestly activities, he had been professor of theology and Hebrew in Valladolid and Seville and of divinity in Liège and Douay. His "Relation of Maryland," which was accounted lost for so many years, is a frank and engaging narrative of the Maryland Pilgrims' voyage across the Atlantic and into the Potomac, and of the conditions which they found there. It is the cornerstone of Maryland history. Father White had a genuine zeal for the Indians among whom he lived for nearly ten years. Having mastered their language he prepared for them a grammar, a vocabulary, and a catechism, which were said to have been printed at St. Mary's, where at any rate was set

up the first printing press in Maryland and one of the first in all the colonies. The grammar and vocabulary disappeared long ago. A copy of the Catechism was some years ago discovered in the Jesuit archives in Rome. In 1639 Father White was assigned to the then most remote missionary station on the river, at the Indian town of Kittamaquindi, "the metropolis of Pascatoe," on Piscataway Creek. Here he remained until 1642, occasionally sailing down river for a visit to St. Mary's. He was summoned to sit in Maryland's first Assembly, an honour he declined, as he preferred to take no part in secular affairs in the colony. During Claiborne's Rebellion, Father White, then about sixty-five years old, was seized for his missionary activities and sent in irons to England. His life was spared but he was banished from England. The will of the hardy old pioneer was far from broken, however, and his zeal for the Indians on the Potomac flamed to the last. He begged his superiors to send him back to the colony, but his petition was denied, and he died far from the scenes he loved and whose first historian he was.

Margaret Brent was in her unique way an even more remarkable character. The historical gossips are obviously at a loss to account for the official favour of this woman. She came to St. Mary's in 1639 with her sister and two brothers and became a power in the little capital. When Governor Leonard Calvert died he named Mistress Brent the executrix of his will with the brief injunction to "Take all and Pay all." "All" was, to be sure, little enough in chattels, for the Governor left a personal estate of only one hundred and ten pounds sterling. If his personal estate was small, his

land belongings were extensive, and they, together with the favour implied, were stepping-stones enough for his friend who deserves to be remembered as the only woman who stands out clearly in the colonial history of Maryland.

As executrix of the Governor's will, she became the guardian of his children; claimed the right to act as the Proprietor's attorney, "a right she exercised with energy"; and protected her brother's children and estates during his absences in England. She anticipated all later suffragettes in demanding a voice and vote in the Assembly, which, however, she did not get, although, in refusing, the Assembly recognized her services in saving the province during Ingle's Rebellion; and when the soldiers threatened to mutiny, to secure the pay which Governor Calvert had guaranteed with his estate, she acted with despatch, paying them with corn as long as it lasted and then with cattle, skilfully averting one of the most serious situations which threatened the young colony.

So, in brief, civilization came to the Potomac, seated itself at the river's mouth, and began its slow sweep up the shores from point to point, and from creek to creek. It came upward like the tide whose ebb and flow had for ages been as the river's respiration and life. If, however, the flow of this tide was slow as centuries, its ebb was eventually just as inevitable as the ebb that twice daily perpetually bares the sandy beaches and the landing piles along its way.

CHAPTER IV

Boundaries—Maryland and Virginia's Two-Hundred-Year Contest for the Potomac—Now Wholly in Maryland—Laying Out the Counties—Plotting the Parishes—Early Churches on Both Shores—Origin of Place Names on the Potomac—Comic Issue of a Too Fervent Patriotism.

THE inevitable accompaniment of habitations are boundaries. Boundaries bring disputes, and disputes are among the morsels that history feeds on. The one great dispute that grew out of the rising tide of settlement on the Potomac was over nothing less than possession and jurisdiction of the great river itself.

The boundary line between Maryland and Virginia is believed to be vaguely the Potomac River. But when, over a course of more than one hundred miles, a river varies in width from one to ten miles, it is apparent that there is a vast area of water which is not definitely assigned to either adjoining jurisdiction.

The makers of maps from the beginning have been divided in their partiality. They have furnished evidence, if the evidence of the casual map maker is to be admitted, to "both sides and the middle." Some placed the dotted boundary line close to the Virginia shore, some close to the Maryland shore, and others ignored the problem by colouring the north shore one colour and the south shore another, and leaving the river itself of another tint, presumably neutral, or of no tint at all.

The maps are really a history of a state of mind, for the boundary between Virginia and Maryland has been in question almost continuously since the days of the royal grants of Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland and of the distressed cavaliers' Northern Neck of Virginia. In the fresh-water sources of the river the contest was over land. From the Falls to the mouth the contest was almost entirely over the water. The battle for the uplands raged in courts and assemblies from generation to generation. The question of the jurisdiction over tidewater never rose quite to the violence of battle. Perhaps the distance from shore to shore softened the voices of debate.

The first statement of a boundary line between Lord Baltimore's colony and its neighbours is found in the royal charter which created Maryland. Starting from the fortieth parallel of north latitude, its north boundary, the line runs south "to the first or most distant fountain, of the Potomac," thence proceeding southward to "the farther or western bank of that river, and following that bank" to a specified point at the mouth of the river where it debouches into the Chesapeake.

To offset this Virginia quoted the royal grant of the Northern Neck. The terms of this grant included "the river Potomac and Rappahannock, and all the islands within their banks."

Here the issue is found squarely joined, with phrasing made to order for disputation, whenever the mood came on. Maryland from the first not only maintained claim to low-water mark on the Virginia shore of tidewater, but the claim was not often actively contested. Commissioners from both states met in 1784 to

settle the question of navigation and jurisdiction on the river, and agreed that it should be acknowledged a common highway for all citizens of the United States, and that the citizens of both states should enjoy equal fishing rights. Jurisdiction was not settled. In 1877 Virginia's claim that her boundary extended to the middle of the river was finally settled by a commission of arbitration which placed the whole river within the boundary of Maryland. The low water on the Virginia shore, read the Award, "is to be measured from low-water mark at one headland to low-water mark at another, without following indentations, bays, creeks, inlets or affluent rivers"; and it adds, "Virginia is entitled not only to full dominion over the soil to low-water mark on the south shore of the Potomac, but has a right to such use of the river beyond the line of low-water mark as may be necessary to the full enjoyment of her riparian ownership."

From this it is clear that the Potomac is not the boundary between the adjacent states. Its waters are almost entirely in the State of Maryland, and its bed is Maryland soil. The boundary between the two states is the water line at low tide on the Virginia shore.

The advance of the settlements up the river may be gauged relatively by the dates of the county divisions and of the creation of parishes and the erection of churches. In Maryland all religious denominations were on an equal footing for nearly three quarters of a century after the foundation of the colony, but in Virginia the Established Church of England, until the Revolutionary period, was given not only support by taxation of all the population but also certain civil

jurisdiction, such as the repression of all forms of immorality, laying the levies on all tithables and the care of the indigent. On this side of the river the parish shared civil obligations with the county from the first.

The first counties on each side of the river were St. Mary's on the north and Northumberland on the south. Both were in the beginning co-extensive with the vast principalities of which they were a part. They lay along both sides of the river not only as far as the head of tidewater but beyond to the sources of the river, and, so far as any one at the mouth knew, perhaps to the China Sea.

St. Mary's was the elder county of the two. It was called into being on the word of Lord Baltimore as one of the Proprietor's prerogatives. Northumberland across the river was, on the other hand, the creation of the legislative act of the House of Burgesses of Virginia in October, 1648.

Settlers came quickly to the Potomac once its advantages were made known by the chroniclers. The rush to its shores through the middle of the seventeenth century seems to have been an earlier example of the later rushes of the settlers to the Far West to stake mining claims in the mountains and to take up government lands on the prairies. It would seem that they came more quickly to the Virginia shore, as seven years after the handful of settlers crossed the river to the east bank of the Coan, which then appeared to be the only settlement on the Northern Neck, the number of inhabitants had so greatly increased that the Burgesses entertained a petition to erect a new county with a new court house farther up river. Northumberland was divided in

1653. A new county was established which extended "from Matchoatoke River where Mr. Cole lives, and so upward to the Falls of the great river Potomacke above the Necostins town." The new county was called Westermoreland and, even in its eventual restricted bounds, showed a fertility in the production of wealthy planters and of revolutionary and early republican scholars and heroes unequalled by any other county in America.

The date of the founding of Westmoreland and the early date of settlements farther up river are suggestive of the extraordinary character of the men who left England and came to the Potomac at this time. They largely were men of quality and comprehensive ideas. They brought with them their heritage of character from generations of gentle ancestry in England. They were royalists, sometimes called "cavaliers," partisans of the banished King Charles II, who were driven out of England by the Puritan success and the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1649, and they continued to come in large numbers until the restoration of royalty in 1660. They transplanted to the Potomac the traditions and character of old England and soon they built up along its shores a replica of the English social, domestic, and religious life.

At the same time that these people came to Virginia the upper inlets on the north shore were settled by a population which was increasingly Protestant and which emigrated for similar reasons. Desiring to detach themselves from their Catholic neighbours down river they pleaded truthfully the hardship which it was to travel all the way to St. Mary's to attend court

and other county business, and secured a division of the original county in 1658. In establishing this new county Lord Baltimore again complimented his royal patron King Charles II, for whom he named it Charles County. Its Potomac shore reached from the centre of the mouth of the Wicomico River "as far as the settlements extend."

In 1664 settlers were so numerous in Potomac Creek, Aquia Creek, and northward on the western shore that another line was drawn from the river westward, and all of Westmoreland County formerly north thereof was called Stafford County. The exact location of this point does not appear in any surviving records of the early Virginia statutes, but it was probably at Potomac Creek, for Stafford's south boundary seems always to have been on this water.

The chronology of the counties, maintaining its zigzag course across the river, next turns up 1695 as the date when upper Charles County split off from the original lump and was called Prince George's, and this county has the distinction of being the first in Maryland to be constituted by the Assembly instead of being arbitrarily erected by the Proprietor. The dividing line between Charles and Prince George's was then fixed, and has ever since been at Mattawomen Creek.

The next readjustment of county lines on the south shore came in 1720–1721 when King George County came into being. The act of creation recites the increasingly familiar "whereas diverse and sundry inconveniences attend the inhabitants . . . by reason of their great distance from the Court-house and other places usually appointed for publick meetings," but this

Pohick Church

Truro Parish, near the head of Pohick Creek and at equal distance from Mount Vernon and Gunston Hall.

Yeocomico Church

On the Potomac, Westmoreland County, Virginia. It was built in 1710.

time the congestion manifests itself where the distance between the Rappahannock and the Potomac is narrowest, from Rosier Creek to Potomac Creek, and the adjustment is not made by the familiar expedient of dividing off an undetermined wilderness beyond a south line. On this occasion Westmoreland on the Potomac and Richmond on the Rappahannock were divided to form the new county. In 1777 that portion of Westmoreland lying along the river north and west of a line run "directly to Washington's mill on Rosier's Creek and down the said creek to Potomack River" was contributed to the new county of King George.

Prince William County was erected in the year 1730, "3rd and 4th of George II." The process was the division of Stafford, and all of the river north of Chapawomsic Creek was given to the new county. Twelve years later, such was the continued rush of settlers to upper tidewater Potomac, Prince William was curtailed at a line extending westward from Occoquon Creek and its feeder Bull Run. The new county to the north was named Fairfax.

Thus one hundred and fifty years after the first settlement was made on the river its tidewater county lines were defined exactly as they are to-day, except for one later and curious instance. In bringing the capital of the United States to the Potomac at the end of the eighteenth century a rectangular tract ten miles square was cut out from both sides of the river. It was called the District of Columbia. Washington interested himself in the survey of the setting for "the Federal City," as he unfailingly called it, and April 15, 1791, he set the corner stone of the District's southern angle on

Jones' Point at the extreme end of the northern lip of the mouth of Great Hunting Creek on the south side of Alexandria. A light-house has stood here for generations a beacon to the vessels coming up the river. That portion of the District taken from Fairfax County in 1789 was, in 1847, restored to the State of Virginia, and given the name of Alexandria County. Its name but not its extent was changed to Arlington County in 1920. Its western boundary is still marked by the stones, placed at one-mile intervals, which were set up in common with those on the Maryland side of the river to mark the boundary of the original District of Columbia.

Attention has been called to the share of civil obligations borne by the Established Church in Virginia from the beginning of the colony until the Revolution and in Maryland from the last years of the eighteenth century until the Revolution. Hence, in Virginia at least, the establishment of parishes and the building of churches was practically concurrent with the advance of the settlements and the formation of the counties.

The first religious services known to have been held on the Potomac were those first prayers offered by the Maryland pilgrims when they touched the Heron Islands, at the foot of the rude cross which they piously erected, with the sky for roof. When they established themselves at St. Mary's services were held in the first building devoted to Christian worship on the river. It was in one of the Indian houses described by Father White as half oval in form, some twenty feet long, ten feet high "with a place open at the top, halfe

a yard square, whereby they admit the light, and let forth the smoke, for they build their fire, after the manner of ancient halls of England, in the middle of the house." In such a house, he added, "we doe celebrate [the mass], having it dressed a little better then by the Indians, till we get a better, which shall be shortly as may be."

Soon, certainly prior to 1638, a chapel was built of brick in the gradually forming little capital, the first building erected by the Christian colonists for religious worship. Surviving evidence from various sources indicates that this chapel was about eighteen by thirty feet on its foundation lines, that there was a carved representation of clouds and of the flames of Pentecost over the altar, and that it was for a time used jointly by the Protestants and Catholics. Later the Catholics secured exclusive possession and eventually, when the Episcopal Church became the Established Church, the Catholics were forbidden to practise their religion and the chapel was closed.

Catholicism retained its hold on Maryland, however, struggling along by voluntary contribution, much as the Episcopal Church had to do after the Colonies' break with England. The other principal early churches of this faith built along the Maryland shore of the Potomac, and there was not a single one on the Virginia shore until one was built in comparatively recent times in Alexandria, were: St. Inigoes just east of Priest's Point near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, where the first Jesuit mission was established shortly after the arrival of the *Ark* and the *Dove*; St. Aloysius, near Leonardtown at the head of Bretton Bay; St. Francis

on Beggar's Neck, one of the very few brick Catholic churches surviving, on the peninsula between Bretton Bay and St. Clement's Bay; the Chapel of the Sacred Heart on the lands of Bushwood Manor on the neck between St. Clement's Bay and the Wicomico River; and the Jesuit Church on the lands of St. Thomas Manor, on the heights overlooking Port Tobacco and the great river.

Soon after the erection of the chapel at St. Mary's the Protestants, during or before 1642, built three churches for Episcopal worship. The first probably rose on the banks of Trinity Creek and soon disappeared. The second stood on the hills east of Bretton Bay and was called Poplar Hill Church, and sometimes St. George's. The third was the church of St. Clement's Manor on St. Paul's Creek. It, too, disappeared early. The Poplar Hill neighbourhood south of Bretton Bay was an early stronghold of the Protestant. They asserted themselves by giving the name Protestant Point to the next point up the bay from Higgin's Point and, in contrast with the rest of St. Mary's County shore line, there is here a marked absence of saints' names. The first permanent Protestant clergyman came to Maryland in 1650, the Reverend William Wilkinson, and officiated at both Poplar Hill and St. Mary's for thirteen years. These early ministers, unsupported by a fixed tax as were their Virginia brethren, lived a somewhat precarious existence unless sustained by an occasional legacy.

The Episcopal Church found extraordinary strength and comfort in the English Revolution of 1688 which brought William and Mary to the throne. Virginia

shared in this naturally but to no such extent as Maryland. From 1692 the Episcopal Church became the official church of the latter colony and its position was to that extent coördinated with the church in Virginia. The counties along the north shore of the Potomac, in common with others in the colony, were almost immediately divided into parishes, in some cases creating new parishes and in others perpetuating the boundaries already developed. The shore from Point Lookout to St. Clement's Bay lay in William and Mary Parish and the shore above, to include Newport Hundred at the head of the Wicomico River, lay in King and Queen Parish. William and Mary was later divided and all east of St. Mary's River became St. Mary's Parish. A subsequent division of King and Queen's gave so much of this parish as lay in Charles County to Trinity Parish. The farther shore of Charles County, which at the time extended "as far as the settlements," attached to three parishes. About the hills and shores of Port Tobacco lay the parish of that name. West of Nanjemoy Creek as far as the big river lay Durham Parish, and the rest of the settlers to the north found themselves in a parish named for Piscataway Creek.

The earliest churches on the river have been noted. Poplar Hill was the parish church of William and Mary Parish. Christ Church, larger and finer, and sometimes attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, rose at the head of Chaptico Bay on the east side of Wicomico River, as the parish church of King and Queen. This church as well as that at Port Tobacco was built under the early impetus of the establishment. About thirty-five years later than these rose old Durham Church,

in the centre of the lower end of the peninsula west of Nanjemoy Creek of which Maryland Point is the southern tip. Piscataway parishioners first attended St. John's, the little church in the meadow at the head of Broad Creek, and later also St. Paul's "in the bosom of the woods" on Rock Creek. When Piscataway Parish was created its northern boundary was the southern boundary of the colony of Pennsylvania, hence all parishes in northwest Maryland are descended directly from the quaint, isolated little brick church above Broad Creek. Though far from the thickening settlements of the young colony this church is one of the oldest on the river. It was opened for divine worship in 1697. Old St. Paul's once stood in the wilderness of Turkey Thicket, later to be surrounded by Rock Creek cemetery, as the City of Washington rose and grew far beyond it. The church bears the date of its beginning in its cornerstone, 1719.

The beginnings of the parishes on the Virginia shore come more hazily out of the early days than do those on the northern side. The statutes surviving leave the time of the foundations in doubt. The early vestry books are long since gone. Even a seventeenth century tombstone is a rarity in Northumberland or Westmoreland. So it is that two parishes pop full fledged out of old Northumberland lists, more than a century after the county organized. Indeed the earliest tangible evidence of particular parishes in this neighbourhood is found in the inscription on an old communion cup, showing that it was presented by Hancock Lee of Ditchley Hall to Lee Parish in 1711. Ditchley looked out upon the Chesapeake from the lower

shores of the county. This apparently is not only the earliest surviving reference to a parish on this side of the Potomac but it appears to be the only one mentioning a "Lee" parish. Twelve years later the Bishop of London is found sending a circular letter to the minister of Washington Parish in Westmoreland. The first references to the permanently established parishes of St. Stephen and Wycomico in Northumberland are found in county lists of 1754 and 1758. Tradition, the gossip, is confident that there were an Upper St. Stephen's and a Lower St. Stephen's. At any rate, it is not certain that the Assembly established county lines and parish lines at the same time here as they certainly did later a little way farther up river.

The lines were all drawn within a century, however, and substantial brick churches had been built. A parish map of the Virginia shore at that time would show nine tidewater parishes. Northumberland, long and narrow, was divided into Wycomico Parish in its southern half and St. Stephen's in its northern half. Westmoreland, even longer and quite as narrow, was divided into Cople Parish in its southern portion and Washington Parish to the north. From each of these two Westmoreland parishes portions were taken in very recent times to form the new parish of Montross. King George, only half the length of either of the lower counties, had only St. Paul's Parish. Stafford County and Overwharton, and Prince William County and Dettingen Parish, were in each case co-extensive. Fairfax County was divided into Truro Parish in its southern portion and Fairfax Parish to the north.

There were sometimes two or three churches in each

parish, with an occasional chapel of ease in a remote neighbourhood attended from one of the parish churches. The choice of the situation for a church was in a large way controlled by a desire to make it central to the principal plantations and most easily accessible by road and water. Once a neighbourhood was selected for a church, however, the exact location was determined by convenience to a spring of good water, for the faithful came over hot and dusty roads and often man and horse refreshed themselves after travelling half the length of the county. The name of a church nearly always differed from that of the parish in which it was situated.

In Cople Parish Yeocomico Church was built a few miles inland from the river but Nomini Church stood on the picturesque creek from which it took its name in full view of the boats rowed or sailed up its quiet waters. The location of Pope's Creek Church in Washington Parish is revealed in its name. The St. Paul's Parish Church in King George stands near Bedford on the Potomac, one of the Fitzhugh places. The first church in Overwharton was built near Potomac Creek and shared with Wycomico in Northumberland the distinction of being among the largest churches built in all colonial Virginia. Its successor, built some six or seven miles away, is Aquia Church. In Dettingen Parish were Broad Run Church and the Dumfries Church. Truro Parish had but one church, Pohick, at first on the crossroads at the head of Pohick Bay but later moved to a commanding position on the hills about two miles farther north. The more populous northern Fairfax Parish had churches in Alexandria and near the

head of tidewater Potomac, not far from a point from which it took its name, Falls Church.

There is an inscription over the south door of Aquia Church which not only dates the building but reminds of a former meaning of a common word. It reads: "Built A. D. 1751. Destroyed by fire 1751, and rebuilt A.D. 1757 by Mourning Richards, Undertaker. Wm. Copein, Mason." It will be admitted that "Mourning" is a singularly appropriate name for an undertaker as we use the word, but in the sense employed in this inscription it means Contractor.

With the names of the estuaries of the big river and of the counties and parishes along its shores set out, some analogy may have already suggested itself between the names given by the colonists to their surroundings and the sources which suggested them.

The oldest names in any neighbourhood are apt to be those given the conspicuous natural formations. This is true of the Potomac whose time-old estuaries, first familiar to the red man, as a rule bear names given by or for the Indians, and only in a few instances do they bear any reference to the character or origin of the white men who discovered and settled their banks. Wicomico, Coan, Nomini, Currioman, Neabsco, Occoquon, Pohick, Dogue, Chaptico, Nanjemoy, Chickowuxen, Mattawomen, Pomunky, Piscataway, and Anacostia are all Indian names or are slight perversions based on Indian originals.

The conspicuous exceptions to the otherwise general Indian nomenclature of the inlets is found on the north shore near the mouth of the river where the Catholics came and honoured the saints of their Church in naming

the city of St. Mary's; the islands of St. George, St. Clement, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret; and the waters of St. Mary's River, St. Inigoes Creek, St. George's River, St. Clement's Bay, and St. Patrick's Creek.

The British origin and loyalty of the settlers on both sides of the river are marked unmistakably by the earliest names of the counties and parishes. Lord Baltimore, after naming St. Mary's County for the patron saint selected by the pilgrims in the *Ark* and the *Dove*, did honour to his banished sovereign, King Charles II, in naming Charles County in 1658. The naming of Prince George's County in 1695 by the Assembly was another evidence of colonial loyalty to the royal family. The parish names of William and Mary and of King and Queen practically date their foundation.

The first Potomac River counties in Virginia derive from ancestral localities in England: Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Stafford. The naming of King George County complimented the then reigning King George I, and Prince William County was named ten years later in honour of the then Duke of Cumberland. A domestic sense asserted itself somewhat in 1742 when Fairfax County was named after "that most faithful of all Tories, [Thomas,] Lord Fairfax," but more definitely in naming Alexandria County after the city of that name which perpetuated its first settlers, the Alexander family, and again in changing that name to Arlington after the Custis estate opposite Washington City.

The river parishes in Virginia reflect the aborigines in Wycomico; religious sentiment at least in St. Ste-

phen's and St. Paul's; ancestral parishes in old England in Cople, Overwharton, and Truro; loyalty to the mother country in Dettingen, named in 1745 supposedly for the English victory at Dettingen in 1743; and domestic characters in Washington and Fairfax.

These names are not only the sign posts and milestones of history, but they give a noble distinction to all tidewater where they weave a picturesque if somewhat faded background to a later age. They are a precious heritage to those who live along the river and a source of glamour and charm to those who come to the old landings. Yet in the first days of the Revolution against England and all the trappings of royalty and nobility, a fervent republican rose in the Virginia Assembly and became eloquent on the subject of erasing all royal and noble names from the commonwealth. The saving sense of humour of his fellow legislators did not quiet him and he continued his tirade until he was challenged to mortal combat by a patriot member, named King!

CHAPTER V

Plantations—Vast Land Holdings—Manorial Land System in Maryland—Land Transfer "By the Rod"—Court Leet and Court Baron—Virginia Repudiates the Manorial System—An Ancient Indian Deed—Factors in Huge Fortunes—Tobacco as Crop and Currency—Trade Between Potomac Landings and English Ports.

THE high tide of country life on the Potomac was reached early in the eighteenth century and continued for over five score years. Within a hundred years after John Smith discovered the river to the white man and Leonard Calvert had planted the first settlement at St. Mary's, practically the entire shore on each side, including the smiling lowlands and hillsides of the bays and creeks, was divided up into estates.

The cabins or roughly framed houses had yielded place in many cases to the great mansions, of brick almost as often as of frame, with their villages of outbuildings. At the waterside of every great estate, and every plantation had its waterfront, the landings dug their pilings deep into the bed of the creeks or reached from the shore like an amphibious centipede across the flats to the deep waters of the channel. The names which ornamented colonial life and later illuminated our revolutionary period were found already among the planters. Here were the seats of the Calverts, Brents, Hansons, Jenifers, Digges, Addisons, Claggetts, Smallwoods, and Keys. Here the Fair-

faxes, Lees, Washingtons, Carters, Turbervilles, Marshalls, Fitzhughs, Mercers, Monroes, Corbins, and Masons were at home.

A plantation often took up several miles of shore, and some there were occupying a point of land between the river and an inlet, or running along the river shore with creeks bounding two of their sides, whose shore line measured more than ten miles. The development of such plantations, in Maryland called Manors on account of the land tenure established there and of the domestic and social life which flourished on them and the great personages they produced, is one of the absorbing features of the story of tidewater Potomac.

The river planters had a passion for land. It was an English inheritance. Their domains were truly baronial. On an elevation commanding the water, often with vistas extending twelve to fifteen miles, they placed their homes in a sheltering grove of locust or oak. It pleased a planter to have no other habitation in sight, for this gave him a sense of possession as far as the eye could see and thus the water as well as the land contributed to his sense of overlordship.

From the other front of the mansion the view was no less possessive and contributory. Fields and forests, to the line where the distant purpled tree tops met the sky, were his. The lumbering coach rolled for miles over his own acres before it came in sight of his own big house. Astride his horse the planter rode from clearing to clearing, from "quarter" to "quarter," hour after hour the day long, and never left his own land.

The holding of vast estates by a single individual appeared on the Maryland shore within five years of

the arrival of the earliest colonists. Large land units were the natural accompaniment of the manorial system which was included in the charter from the King to Lord Baltimore from whose proprietorship of all Maryland depends every land title on this side.

By this grant the Proprietor and his delegated Governor held extraordinary powers over the landholder. He was not merely supreme possessor of the land but he was the supreme arbiter of the lives and fortunes of the colonists; and "the source of all honour, justice, religion, order and to a high degree of the law itself." He headed a sufficiently aristocratic form of government. An analogy has been drawn between the Lord Proprietor, the Lords of the Manors, and the freeholders of the Potomac colony on the one hand and the King, the Barons, and the gentry of England on the other. The serfs and villains of the old country had their counterpart in the redemptioners, Indians and slaves of the new. The freemen of the counties and of St. Mary's City were likened to the free inhabitants of the English cities and free boroughs.

The land of an immigrant who took up a minimun of one thousand acres was made a Manor of which the owner was constituted the Lord. His special privileges were "trial by peers, freedom from ignominious death, summons by special writ to every Assembly, right to keep stray cattle, and right to escheat of tenements."

In addition to the lord of the manor his land was often occupied by freeholders, leaseholders and resiants. An indication of the terms on which a tenant held possession is found in an old notice summoning one of them to pay his annual rent on one hundred acres on St.

Michael's Manor, behind Point Lookout, and noting it as "2 barrells of corn and 2 capons."

The earliest method of land transfer was to make a note on the back of the patent, or by a crude memorandum handed the purchaser, or more picturesquely "by the rod." The last method may be illustrated from an original manuscript record of the transfer of a portion of St. Gabriel's Manor in 1656 by the Lady of the Manor, Mistress Margaret Brent, her steward acting for her, to one Martin Kirk. Kirk was given "livery of seizen" by the rod, he holding one end and the steward the other, in the presence of witnesses, while the steward declared: "the Lord [Lady?] of the Manor by me the Steward doth hereby deliver you seizen by the rod and admit you as tenant of the premises." Whereupon Kirk, in full court, did his fealty to the lady of the manor, swearing in these terms: "Hear you, my Lady, that I, Martin Kirk, shall be to you both true and faithful and shall owe my fidelity to you for the land I hold of you and lawfully shall do and perform such customs and services as my duty is to you at the term assigned, so help me God, and all his Saints." Then, after the ancient English custom, a twig was broken and each party retained a part thereof as evidence of the transfer.

Justice was administered by the lord of the manor who held Court Baron and Court Leet. The latter was the people's court for the trial of their own disputes. The Court Baron settled disputes involving his lordship as one of the parties. The steward presided at the Court Leet and the residents of the manor were chosen for jury and court officers. The following malefactors

were brought to trial before the Court Leet according to an early English statute: "Such as have double measure, and buy by the great and sell by the less. Such as haunt taverns and no man knoweth where they live. Such as sleep by day and watch by night and fare well and have nothing." In the Court Baron the freeholder was tried by his lordship and the free tenants of the manor and here the tenant swore his oath of fealty in the terms already given. Though the Courts Baron and Leet were a source of extensive power and profit to the lord of the manor while he retained his jurisdiction, this judicial system flickered feebly and gave way at an early date to the elective system of judges of county courts. The Proprietorship, however, was not terminated until 1691.

A minimum of 1,000 acres was required as the basis of a manorial right. St. Richard's, St. Joseph's, and Westbury manors in St. Mary's County, and Cool Spring and Parrott's manors in Prince George's County each contained 1,000 acres. Basford Manor on Chaptico Bay held 1,500 acres. Woolselly Manor held 1,900 acres. Snow Hill Manor near St. Mary's City held 6,000 acres. Captain Harry Fleet, who directed Calvert to the site of his capital, received a grant of 4,000 acres, at least a part of which was erected into the Manor of West St. Mary's. It later became a part of the grant to Thomas Cornwallis, and Fleet crossed the Potomac to reside on the south shore of the Northern Neck.

The minimum of one thousand acres for a manor was early increased to two thousand acres with the requirement that each manor "lye all together in some

COAN RIVER LANDING

The scenery about the landings is scarcely ever stimulating. It is gentle and kindly, graceful and smiling, leisurely and deliberate. . . . The old landings indeed reach out from the shores of yesterdays. If life about them is somewhat faded, at least it is perfumed with the lavender of priceless traditions and achievements and romance. . . . To this quiet estuary of the great Potomac came the first white settlers on its Virginia shore.

one place in the Province." A single manor, however, did not always constitute the entire holding of a single owner. Cuthbert Fenwick was the lord of St. Inigoes' Manor of 2,100 acres on St. Mary's River and also of Fenwick Manor of 2,000 acres on the near-by Patuxent River. Another such instance was provided by Thomas Cornwallis, who was lord of Cornwallis Manor, of 2,000 acres on the Potomac, St. Elizabeth's Manor of 2,000 acres near but detached, and of Resurrection Manor of 4,000 acres a few miles north on the Patuxent River. Here was a total of 8,000 acres in one man's ownership. The first governor of the colony, Leonard Calvert, reserved for himself three adjacent manors (St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's, and Trinity) which comprised a block of land whose southern tip was Point Lookout at the mouth of the river, with a northern boundary line drawn from Smith's Creek on the Potomac to St. Jerome's Creek on Chesapeake Bay, an eastern boundary washed throughout its length by the bay and St. Jerome's Creek, and a western boundary washed throughout its length by the Potomac and Smith's Creek.

The largest single manor on the river appears to have been St. Clement's. It embraced St. Clement's, St. Catherine's, and St. Margaret's islands and the southern portion of the near-by mainland between St. Clement's Bay and Wicomico River. In all it contained 11,400 acres. It was granted to "Thos. Gerrard, Gent.", a member of the Council, in 1639 and 1642. Basford Manor was next St. Clement's Manor on the northwest side and was also the property of this same Thomas Gerrard.

On the Virginia side of the river the first grant, it has already been noted, included the whole of the Northern Neck which accounted for the entire shore on that side of the river. It was made in 1649 shortly after the grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore and it embraced similar privileges of proprietorship and the right to create manors and the lords thereof. There was unprecedented "grief and pain" over this grant and a vigorous but respectful protest was made by the people to King Charles II. His reply was a second grant, which included not merely the Northern Neck but the whole of Virginia, for a period of thirty-one years, made to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper. Renewed protests were carried to the crown by three agents of the colony who sailed to England for that purpose. The immediate result was not encouraging, but adjustments were made which eventually resulted in the whole of the Northern Neck passing by purchase into the hands of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, who later came to America and resided on his property.

The manorial rights in the royal grant of the Northern Neck were never exercised. Possibly it was sufficiently difficult merely to retain title in the face of an indignant population. Possibly they did not dare to introduce the manorial system in view of an earlier futile effort in another part of the colony. My attention was called to this by the late Thomas Pinckney Bryan of Virginia, who wrote: "An effort to set up manorial rights was made in the early days of the colony by a man named John Martin. He secured a broad grant from the Virginia Company and settled at Martin's Hundred down by Mulberry Island, whence

he sent two delegates to the convention which sat in 1619. The delegates announced that they would be bound by rules of the convention only in so far as it pleased them to be bound. Whereupon the Assembly, prompted by the democratic motives that have ever since obtained in Virginia, refused to seat them in the convention. Then and there the manorial business came to an end in Virginia."

However, the dissimilar land system in Virginia did not discourage large holdings on that side of the river when sought by men of large ideas, backed by wealth, favour, or daring. Plantations in multiples of one thousand acres were as numerous here as across in Maryland, and a seat or residence of this size was sometimes a mere fraction of the owner's holdings at other points on the river.

The Brent family was one of the earliest to accumulate large detached holdings. Margaret Brent has already been mentioned. Her brothers Giles and Fulk and her sister Mary accompanied her from England to make their home in America. After a few years at St. Mary's they crossed the river and bought land in the neighbourhood of Aquia Creek where they remained the rest of their lives. The north lip of the mouth of Aquia has ever since been known as Brent's Point. Land grants to this family between 1651 and 1666 show that they owned 9,610 acres on the Virginia shore some of which was located as far north as Hunting Creek where later the city of Alexandria appeared.

These holdings were probably a trifle, however, compared to the strip of land across the Northern Neck from the Potomac to the Rappahannock which

Major Moore Fantleroy bought of the Indians in 1651. It reached the entire lower width of Westmoreland County where the distance between the rivers averages fifteen miles. Its exact location and its precise number of acres is left to conjecture, but the original contract is repeated for its unique and amusing character:

"At a machcomacoi held the 4th of April 1651, at Rappahannock,—Accopatough, Wionance, Toskicough, Coharneittary, Pacauta, Mamogueitan, Opathittara, Cakarell James, Minniaconaugh, Kintassa-hacr.

"To all people to whom these presents shall come, both English and Indians, know ye that I, Accopatough, the right-born and true king of the Indians of Rappahannock Town and Townes, and of all the land thereto belonging, do hereby for and in consideration of ten fathom of peake and goods, amounting to thirty arms' length of Rohonoke already in hand received, and for the love and affection which I the king, and all my men, do bear unto my loving friend and brother, Moor Fantleroy, who is likewise now immediately to go with me unto Pasbyhaies unto the governor, and safely to convey me and my men back again hither unto Rappahannock, for which and in consideration thereof I do hereby bargain and sell, give, grant, and confirm, and by this present indenture have bargained, sold, given, granted, conveyed, and fully confirmed unto the said Fantleroy, his heirs and assigns forever, a certain p'cell of land situate, lying, and being in two necks on the north side of Rappahannock Creek, beginning for breadth at the southernmost branch or creek of Macaughtions bay or run, and so up and along by the side of the said river of Rappahannock, unto a great creek or river which

run—Totosha or Tanks Rappahannock Town; for length extending easterly with its full breadth unto the bounds of the Potomack River at the uttermost bounds of my land. To have, hold, and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid lands and waters, with all and every part and parcel thereof, lying and being as aforesaid, unto the said Fantleroy, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever, so long as the sun and moon endureth, with all the appurtenances, rights, liberties, commodities, and profits whatsoever thereunto belonging, in as full and as ample manner as ever I, the said king, or any of my predecessors, ever had or could have had, by for me. My heirs and assigns fully assuring the said Fantleroy, his heirs and assigns, forever peaceably and quietly to enjoy all and every part and parcel of the said land without any manner of lett, losses, molestations, or disturbance whatsoever proceeding from me or any Indian or Indians whatsoever, now or hereafter, may or shall belong unto me or any of my heirs, assigns, or successors, hereby giving unto my said brother full power, leave, license, and authority to punish, correct, beat, or kill any Indian or Indians whatsoever, which shall contrary to the intent of this my act and deed presume to molest, harm, or offer any manner of harm, wrong, injury, or violence upon the said land, or any part of it, unto the said Fantleroy, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns or any whomsoever he or they shall seat, place, or put upon any part or parcel of the abovesaid land hereby given, and granted, and alienated as aforesaid. In witness whereof, and to the true and full intent and meaning is hereof, with a full knowledge and understanding of this

present act and deed, I, the said king, in the presence of my great men and divers others of my Indians, have hereunto signed and sealed, the fourth day of April, one thousand six hundred and fifty one. Signed, sealed and possession given by tree and turf,

ACCOPATOUGH, (Seal.)

John Edgecombe, Natha Batson,
Alexander Campler, Franc: Marsh.

This eleventh of May, one thousand six hundred and fifty one, we Touweren, the great King of Rappahannock and Moratoerin, do hereby fully ratify and confirm the above said act and deed unto our loving brother Fantleroy, his heirs and assigns. Witness our hand and seals the day above written.

TOUWEREN, (seal.) MACHAMAP. (seal.)

Witnesses:
William Foote,
Franc. Marsh,
Natha Batson.

(Teste.) Wilson Allen, C.G.C.

The holdings of the first Lee on the Potomac, Richard, of Northumberland County, may be estimated more exactly than Fantleroy's acreage. In 1663 he had accumulated nearly 20,000 acres on both sides of the river. Among his estates were Stratford, Mock Necke, Mount Pleasant, Paradise, Paper Maker's Neck, Bishop's Neck and an additional 4,000 acres also on the Potomac.

Less than forty years later the genuinely baronial William Fitzhugh of Bedford bequeathed an accountable minimum of 45,036 acres in Virginia on the Potomac,

besides a trifle of 4,167 acres off the river though in the Northern Neck, and "other lands in Virginia, Maryland and England." He appears to have owned lands in multiples of one thousand acres on every creek on the Virginia shore from Nomini northward nearly sixty miles to Occoquon. On the latter creek and its branches he was in possession of 21,000 acres. Fitzhugh's correspondence reveals that land on the Potomac was taken up, under the system of granting patents for a few shillings an acre, by residents in England who possibly never saw the river. One notable instance of a large holding of this character was "Mr. Nicholas Hayward Notary Publick near the Exchange in London" who owned 30,000 acres here.

Compared with such estates the landed possessions of George Washington and George Mason farther up river appear small, yet both of these planters were accounted rich men in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It is true both men owned extensive tracts near and beyond the mountains, but Washington's Mount Vernon totalled only 8,000 acres and Mason's lands on the river did not far exceed 15,000 acres. In addition to the 5,000 or so acres of Gunston estate on Mason's Neck between Occoquon Bay and Gunston Cove, Mason's principal holdings were several thousand acres northeast of Mount Vernon on a part of which one of his sons built Haddon Hall; all of Analostan Island in the river opposite Georgetown; and land on the Maryland shore on Port Tobacco River and, nearer his home plantation, on Stump Neck between Chickomuxen and Mattawomen creeks. But small as these look compared to the vast holdings of Fitzhugh of

Bedford, this great landholder's acreage takes second place to another of the planters on the Virginia shore. Robert Carter, known as "the Councillor," of Nomini Hall on the creek of that name, in the eighteenth century accumulated 63,093 acres.

The factors in the huge fortunes on the Potomac were cheap land, cheap labour, and cheap transportation. Whether the land was acquired as a royal or proprietary favour, or as a bonus for bringing in settlers and labour, or as a mere purchase from the Indians, or from royal grantees, it was in every instance cheap, so cheap that its dirt might well have been the original of the perennial comparison, "cheap as dirt." The grantees in the first instance reserved great tracts at detached points for themselves and practically gave away the intervening stretches to induct planters, thus enhancing the value of their own remnant.

Cheap labour was based at first on the indentured servant, always white, and usually English. In this connection "servant" did not mean a menial only. It included all who took pay for services. The indentured-servant class was in a larger sense the first plantation labour. There were instances of an indentured servant descended from the gentry in England, and on numerous occasions he was a relative of the planter to whom he was pledged. But as a rule he came from a varied list which reached from the yeomanry class at the top to England's flotsam of undesirables at the bottom which produced the well-known "involuntary emigrant," through all sorts of reckless, ambitious, incompetent, ne'er-do-well, or adventurous types. In proportion to the gold or dross in his character he pros-

pered and was absorbed into the landholding class or slipped back into that unique class for which the New World provided a new name, the "poor whites." The second element in cheap labour was the African slave. Once the first slave ship made its way up river a new market was recognized and others followed in quick succession. The slave represented a small original investment, all his increase was his owner's property, and his upkeep was negligible here where the climate was mild and "hog and hominy" was practically the "soup to nuts" of his provision.

Cheap transportation from the river plantations was based on many contributing facts. Every plantation, in addition to its own landing, had its own warehouse, usually a public warehouse, where the shipments were carried direct, the leaf was inspected, and the duty paid. Here Alsop found that business was done orderly and quickly. Not, he wrote, "like these shopkeeper Boys in *London*, that continually cry, *What do ye lack, Sir? What do ye buy?* Yelping with so wide a mouth, as if some Apothecary had hired their mouths to stand open to catch Gnats and Vagabond Flyes in."

It was exceptional when the depth of water at the landing prevented the sea-going ship from coming directly alongside, for in colonial days the ships were only moderately large and there was in the river even more water than now. If, however, the shore water happened to be shallow the hogsheads were lightered out to the channel. Thereafter there was a minimum of handling for the produce was undisturbed until it was taken off the ship at the dock of its destination, usually in England.

The planter, moreover, enjoyed the cheapest carriage ever devised for overseas, the sailing vessel. Yet the Potomac men never were seafaring men in the larger sense. They appreciated and loved the river, used and enjoyed it, but they were not shipowners or extensive shipbuilders and the plantations did not breed mariners. In some instances they built moderately large boats for river and bay travel, and a few to be sure owned shares in ships that sailed between their landings and the ports of England.

The principal crop sustained on this economic tripod of cheap land, cheap labour, and cheap transportation was tobacco. The planter was tobacco mad and he grew tobacco rich. It was the basic crop of every plantation, great and small, on both sides of the river. There was at first no other crop worth the name. Corn was raised only for domestic consumption. The shell and finny wealth of the river itself was almost entirely neglected in colonial times except for the plantation needs. Manufacturing there was none. Virginia and Maryland, divided and united by the Potomac, monopolized the tobacco culture of the colonies. Tobacco was to the Potomac what rice was to Carolina, cotton to the colonies farther south, fish and manufacturing to New England. Indeed, it may even be said that tobacco was to the Potomac what gold was to the Yukon. Its establishment as a commercial commodity drew the "rush" from England. Before tobacco possibilities were appreciated the river offered no other apparent substantial inducement for sober-minded English to mend their fortunes.

One of the best contemporary descriptions of colonial

tobacco culture was given in 1724 by Hugh Jones in his "Present State of Virginia," and the methods and terms revealed therein are largely in use to-day:

"*Tobacco* requires a great deal of Skill and Trouble in the right Management of it.

"They raiſe the Plants in *Beds*, as we do Cabbage Plants; which they *tranſplant* and *replant* upon Occaſion after a Shower of Rain, which they call a *Seaſon*.

"When it is grown up they *top* it, or nip off the Head, *ſuccour* it, or cut off the Ground Leaves, *weed* it, *hill* it; and when ripe, they *cut* it down about ſix or eight Leaves on a Stalk, which they carry into airy *Tobacco Houſes;* after it is withered a little in the Sun, there it is hung to dry on *Sticks*, as Papaer at the Papaer-Mills; when it is in proper Caſe, (as they call it) and the Air neither too moiſt nor too dry, they *ſtrike* it, or take it down, then cover it up in *Bulk*, or a great Heap, where it lies till they have Leiſure or Occaſion to ſtem it (that is pull the Leaves from the Stalk) or ſtrip it (that is take out the great Fibres) and *tie* it up in *Hands*, or *ſtreight lay it;* and ſo by Degrees *prize* or preſs it with proper Engines into great Hogſheads, containing about ſix to eleven hundred Pounds; four of which Hogſheads make a *Tun*, by Dimenſion, not by Weight; then it is ready for Sale or Shipping."

The tobacco containers were made on the plantation. This domestic art survives in places along the river to-day. As the leaf was a dry article the cooperage was "slack" and rather rough. The wood for the staves, heading, and hoops was all found on the place and included beach, pine, gum, cedar, and all kinds of oak.

The huge hogsheads were not easily handled. Instead of attempting to lift them to the bed of a wagon or cart, the prevailing method was to roll them by horse- and man-power to the landing. Hence the roads to the waterside were and still are sometimes called "rolling roads," and the warehouse at the landing was sometimes called "the rolling house."

England was not only quick to appreciate the joys of the weed for snuffing and smoking, but at once controlled the exports from the colonies and permitted shipments to no other ports than her own. Just as tobacco was the dominating crop and England controlled the market for the crop, so trade with England became a conspicuous part of colonial life on the river. Other reasons fostered this contact with the old country, to be sure. The plantations were English territory and the planters were Englishmen only one or two generations removed from the ancestral home across the sea. Vessels from Glasgow and Bristol and London, and in a less degree from other British ports, were almost as familiar in the river as the small ships from the bay and adjoining rivers.

There is, however, evidence of frequent embarrassment to the planters by reason of insufficient bottoms. William Fitzhugh frequently complained of this in his letters to his English factor. This was less the case in years of high prices for the weed. This same wise planter often consigned his commodity to two or three ships when he might have consigned it to one. In this way he divided the loss in case of shipwreck.

A phase of shipping as well as of the Potomac planter's character is illustrated by a passage in a letter

from Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly to his brother William in London: "There are some capital shippers here, that it might be prudent to take much pains by writing and other effectual methods to engage. Old Col°. Loudon I hear is out with Molleson about his refusing to pay a Tradesman a small order of the Colonels—You know the old Gentleman—A little well applied flattery, contrition for not having corresponded with your God father before, and strong assurances of application to his interest in future may do great things in your favour. Counsellor Carter may by proper address be made a large Shipper. M^r^. Carter of Corotoman has purchased to oblige you. He is a person of much consideration. Counsellor Nelson had engaged to ship in the Craft that went for your own Tobacco, but she did not call on him. Suppose you were to thank him for his kind intentions—Both Col^l^. R. Corbin & the Treasurer talk of shipping you a good deal next year. Ply them up. You know of what weight Col^l^. Tayloe, M^r^. Loyd, & the Squire our Squire I mean are—M^r^. Sam. Washington is much your friend, he will probably make large crops in Frederick and he may be persuaded to bring his Cousin M^r^. Warner Washington to be your correspondent. T. A. Washington likes flattery, try him."

Estimates of the time consumed by a voyage between the Potomac and England those days varied. The Pilgrims in the *Ark* and the *Dove* were three months on the way, but they stopped at several islands en route, and actually consumed only fifty-one sailing days, "which is held a speedy passage," according to Governor Calvert. In "A Perfect Description of Virginia"

"Printed for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters Church in Cornhill," London, in 1649, the writer says: "the seamen of late years having found a way, that now in 5, 6 or 7 weeks they saile to Virginia free from all Rocks, Sands and Pirats; and that they return home in 20 days sometimes, and 30 at most." Fitzhugh estimated that one ship could be depended upon to "readily and easily perform two voyages in one year," between his landing opposite Nanjemoy and his English factor's wharves.

On their return voyage westward for more of the leaf, the ships brought every conceivable manufactured article of luxury and necessity, at least it would seem so from the letters the planters wrote their relatives and agents abroad. The Potomac Valley was not given to manufacturing. The skippers brought out merchandise for the planters free of freight, says Hugh Jones: "only the party to whom the Goods belong, is in Gratitude engaged to freight *Tobacco* upon the ship configned to her owners in England." It is a question whether this free freight was a bait of the ship's captain or a confirmation of Alsop's estimate of the Maryland colonist's character, given in his unfailingly racy manner:

"*Sir*, If you send any Adventure to this Province, let me beg to give you this advice in it; That the Factor whom you imploy be a man of a Brain, otherwise the Planter will go near to make a Skimming-dish of his Skull: I know your Genius can interpret my meaning. The people of this place (whether the saltness of the Ocean gave them any alteration when they went over first, or their continual dwelling under the remote

Clyme where they now inhabit, I know not) are a more acute people in general, in matters of Trade and Commerce, then in any other place of the World; and by their crafty and sure bargaining, do often over-reach the raw and unexperienced Merchant. To be short, he that undertakes Merchants imployment for *Maryland*, must have more of Knave in him then Fool; he must not be a windling piece of Formality, that will lose his Imployers Goods for Conscience sake; nor a flashy piece of Prodigality, that will give his Merchants fine Hollands, Laces, and Silks, to purchase the benevolence of a Female: But he must be a man of solid confidence, carrying alwayes in his looks the Effigies of an Execution upon Command, if he supposes a baffle or denyal of payment, where a debt for his Imployer is legally due."

Perhaps Alsop's estimate was accurate, not only as an appreciation of Maryland character but Virginian as well, for David DeVries, a Dutch traveller, a little before him, had remarked: "The English there [Virginia] are very hospitable but they are not proper persons to trade with. You must look out when you trade with them, Peter is always by Paul. . . . For if they can deceive anyone they account it among themselves a Roman action. They say in their language, 'He played him an English trick', and then they have themselves esteemed."

Hugh Jones wrote home much that was undoubtedly sound and truthful, but as a prophet in 1724 he missed his guess by half a century in these remarks on the indissoluble union with the mother country created by this colonial trade: "There can be no Room for real

Apprehenfion of Danger of a Revolt of the Plantations in future Ages: Or if any of them fhould attempt it, they might very eafily be reduced by the others; for *all of them* will never unite with one another. . . . The Plantations cannot poffibly fubfift without fome Trade, Correfpondence, Union, and Alliance in *Europe*, and abfolute Neceffity obliges them to fix thefe perpetually in *Great Britain*. Upon which, as upon a Stock, they are ingrafted, fpring forth, bloffom, and bear Fruit abundantly, and being once lop'd off from it, they would foon wither and perifh."

How a planter's Bill of Lading combined a commercial statement with a pious hope is witnessed by this bill for merchandise shipped from London on a clipper-ship Potomac-bound:

"Shipped by the Grace of God, in good order and well conditioned by William Lee in and upon the good ship called the Friendship, whereof is Master unto God for the present Voyage, William Roman, and now riding at Anchor in the river Thames and by God's Grace bound for Virginia, to say one case, One Trunk, one Box of Merchandise, being marked and numbered as in the margin and are to be delivered in like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Virginia (the danger of the sea only excepted) unto Mrs. Anna Washington at Pope's Creek, Potomak River or to her assigns. Freight for the said goods being paid with Primage and Average accustomed.

"In witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which Three Bills being accomplished the other two to stand void. And so

Cross Manor House

God send the good Ship to her desired Port of Safety—Amen.

"Dated at London 24 Dec. 1773.

"William Roman."

It dominated not only the soil but life as well. Up to the Revolution exchange was in terms of pounds tobacco, the hundred pounds varying from ten to twenty shillings value. It is true a coin was designed for Calvert and a mint was set up at St. Mary's, but the coins are believed to have had little circulation in spite of an Act of the Assembly in 1662 requiring every householder in the Province to buy at least ten shillings for every taxable person in the family, and to give tobacco for it at the rate of two pence per pound. English and Spanish coins shared what circulation was given metal money on either shore of the river, which was merely for "pocket expenses" as distinguished from general trade.

Tobacco was the currency with which land was bought, and in which taxes, labour, and the clergy were paid. Ships were measured in tobacco capacity and estates even were inventoried in tobacco valuation. The depth of the river itself was sometimes given in like terms, as when Lear wrote: "the navigation is easy and perfectly safe. A vessel of twelve hundred hogsheads of tobacco has loaded at Alexandria and one of seven hundred hogsheads at Georgetown."

Finally, the inventory of the estate of one Zachary Mottershead who died early in 1638 survives and is worth repeating as a quaint specimen of tobacco valuation as well as an index of the wardrobe of one of the earliest settlers on the river and one who wrote himself "gentleman":

Item,	2 coates	100
"	3 shirts	60
"	4 towells and 1 pillowber	20
"	1 doublett, 2 pr stockings, 2 linings	12
"	7 bands, 2 capps, 4 pair of cuffs, 3 pr boot-hose and 1 handkerchiefe	10
"	2 brushes, 1 rule, 16 gold buttons	10
"	7 bookes	12
"	1 pr of boots and spurres	12
"	1 hatt and capp	30
"	1 gunne and 2 locks	60
"	1 bedd, 2 pillows and 1 rugg	80
"	1 wastcoate	8
"	1 chest	30
"	1 looking glasse, 1 pewter pott, 1 candle-stick	6
"	1 shirt	16
"	1 suite of clothes	20
	lbs of tob	516

Naturally as a currency tobacco was about as uncertain a standard as could have been selected. It fluctuated with the abundance or leanness of the crops, with the character of the season's yield, with the few or many bottoms available for its transport, with the manipulation of the market by English merchants, and with other causes scarcely more stable than wind and weather and human nature. In following the course of uncertainty, imposition, distress, and means of alleviation sought by the planters, one finds that the manipulation of tobacco became one of the powerful causes of that resentment and protest in the hearts of the colonists which strengthened and ripened into the open and successful Revolution which established the first American Republic.

CHAPTER VI

Manors of Maryland—The Lord Proprietor's Manors—St. Inigoes —Cross Manor—Porto Bello—Evelynton Manor—Little Bretton and Beggar's Neck—St. Clement's Manor—Basford Manor—Chaptico Manor—Wolleston Manor—Port Tobacco Neighbourhood—Nanjemoy—Warburton Manor and Piscataway Neighbourhood—Original Manor Lands Where the Landings End.

THE right to use the word "manor," with literal significance as a part of the name of a plantation or estate, is, in the United States, the exclusive privilege of certain lands and houses descending from the colonists of Maryland and New York. The manorial system was not established in any other colony, though it is known to have appeared in certain grants in the Carolinas and Virginia. Elsewhere the word crops up, but it only represents the owner's fancy for the name or, at most, his sentiment in recalling an ancestral seat in the old country.

The original Maryland manors represented a land holding rather than merely a plantation. From the original manorial grant, land was rented, leased, and sold, and these fractions were given names, but it was only the original manor house which rated attaching the word "manor" to its individual name. Often the lord of the manor and his descendants kept a large acreage about the manor house as a family plantation. Some of these have descended practically unbroken, whence it comes that the manors, even in later days,

represent the plantations of important and sometimes rich families.

Whatever the earlier manor houses may have been, and for the first few years they were probably rude enough when any at all was built by Lord Baltimore's first favourites who received grants of the choicest river sites near its mouth, the rights attaching to the manor lands and the dignities attaching to the lords of the manor were precise and sufficiently autocratic. Privileged as he was, to hold court and, as judge, to pass on all civil and criminal questions arising on his manor, his lordship was indeed a baron and held in his hand the powers of freedom and restraint, of life and death. It is true that the elective judicial system superceded the Courts Baron and Leet early in river history, but in the original instance, the medieval privileges did pass to the manors with the proprietor's grant and are known to have been exercised.

A manor, therefore, represented not only a vast holding in units of thousands of acres, but it represented also distinguished judicial authority, and the names of the manors of Maryland reflect a sense of this in their unfailing dignity. The fashion of giving a name to every country habitation was brought into all the southern colonies where the English came. Hence in Maryland not only were manors named but, as they were divided, the tenants and smaller land owners named their houses after their own fashion.

There is a marked difference between the character of the names of the manors and of the small plantations. If the former are unfailingly dignified the latter are often amusing. Scattered along the river shore were

AN OLD FARM HOUSE

At the head of Cartagena Creek near the mouth of the Potomac. On the south front may be seen the initials "W. H." set in the original brickwork in black glazed headers. These were presumably the initials of William Hebb. If so, they date the house about 1740. The lower window casings reveal six lights above and four lights below which appears in other river houses.

BACHELOR'S HOPE

A lodge built in early colonial days on Basford Manor whose lands lay along the south shore of the Wicomico River, one of the large estuaries of the Potomac River.

hundreds of little plantations whose names survive only in the county records, in old wills and deeds and suits-at-law. They are full of character, some descriptive of the owner, some descriptive of his experiment, some descriptive of his appreciation of his place. Some indicate natural characteristics, locations in relation to the water or other geographical features. Amusing as some may be, looked at through the dim spectrum of the vanished past, others are sadly suggestive of futile hopes and snaring follies.

The following names of places are a few gleaned from old Maryland records of the three tidewater Potomac counties: Docker's Delight, Subtill's Rest, Daily Desire, Hepbourne's Choice, Internment (there is a Resurrection Manor not far away on the Patuxent), Governor's Gust, Yaylor's Chance, Bachelor's Rest, Hogg's Neck, Tattershall's Gift, Clear Doute, Foxes Den, White Acre, Long Neck, New Bottle, Heart's Desire, Outlet, Meeting Forever, Stanhope's Neglect, Beaver Dam, Baltimore's Gift, James' Gift, Middle Plantation, Charley, Haly's Lot, Little St. Thomas, Small Hopes, Friendship, Mudd's Rest, Damfrit, The Expectation, No Design, Come By Chance, Hawkins' Barrens, Goat's Lodge, Wakefield's Beginnings, Want Water, Cane's Purchase, Dog's Point, Warren's Discovery, Bullett's Folly, Hatton's Point, Wheeler's Rest, Planter's Delight, Mayor's Choice, The Pasture, Park's Meadow, Groome's Lodge, Her Grove, Bread and Cheese Hall, and other Discoveries, Rests, Choices, Hopes, Delights, and Follies by the score.

In comparison with these modest and often flippant or futile names which not infrequently suggest a log

cabin in a field of clay or a shiftless pine shack with weather-warped clapboards, the manor names stand for all their acres, privileges, and powers. The ardent Catholics among the first grantees usually named their manor lands for a patron saint. Other sources of names were ancestral seats or lands across the sea, a wife's maiden name, or a distinguishing physical characteristic.

The first land taken up was the point washed by the Chesapeake and the Potomac. Just below the mouth of the St. Mary's River is a forked inlet about two miles long, generally known as Smith's Creek, though sometimes as Trinity Creek. A line drawn due east from the head of this creek marks the northern boundary of three manors, St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's, and Trinity, granted by the Lord Proprietor to his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert. Across Smith's Creek, on the long narrow peninsula washed on its west side by St. Mary's River, was St. Elisabeth's Manor, a tract of 2,000 acres granted to Thomas Cornwallis, a mighty man in his day. Next above on the east shore of the St. Mary's were the 3,000 acres of St. Inigoes, which also included the "1,000 acres" of St. George's Island on the opposite side of the mouth of the St. Mary's, and north and east, washed by St. Inigoes Creek, was Cross Manor of 2,000 acres, an additional holding of Thomas Cornwallis. This accounted for all the land south and east of the little capital and its immediate environs.

There are two interesting survivals in Calvert's Rest, on Calvert's Bay, with its chimneys forming almost the entire ends of the old frame building; and the Cross Manor house of brick. Nearly three centuries have

so renewed and modified these houses that it is not possible to conjecture, much less to define the originals. Cross Manor is accounted the older of the two and, indeed, the oldest house in Maryland. If this be true, then it is also, probably, the oldest house on all the Potomac.

Calvert's Rest was the home of William Calvert, son of the first governor, and here, as Deputy Governor of the Colony, he prepared many of the early proclamations. He met his death by drowning, possibly in the river close to which his house stands. Jutland, on St. Elisabeth's Manor, was the early home of the Honourable William Bladen who throughout his life seems not to have been out of public office. He distinguished himself permanently, however, by making the first compilation of the laws of Maryland and as "the first public printer of the Province." He is, moreover, at the root of some of the most aristocratic family trees of this colony.

Sailing up the St. Mary's one finds on the right Fort Point whose name, attached to a now barren spot, suggests nevertheless the first fort, called St. Inigoes, placed here in the earliest days to guard the capital. Every ship of "English, duch or any other fforreiners whatsoever having a deck or decks flush fore & aft" that passed was required to pay tribute of half a pound of powder and two pounds of shot to that stronghold and to ride at anchor for two whole tides, both coming and going, "within command of the fort." The "murtherers" or great guns mounted on Fort St. Inigoes were fired to intercept the passing vessel, to call the settlers into the fort for protection from threatening savages or,

more peacefully, to salute on occasions of high ceremonials. They have not all perished though the fort is no more. One of them is on the State House Green at Annapolis. Two others are among valuable relics of old St. Mary's preserved at Georgetown University at the other end of tidewater Potomac. A fourth is said still to be in service on its old manor home; not, however, to bark warnings or salutes, but in peaceable employment as a boundary mark. St. Inigoes manor house with its four great chimneys, its château-like sweep of roof and its columned portico, survived for centuries a riverside landmark, to be devoured at last, and not so long ago, by fire. Nearer the water stood its quaint Dutch windmill which, naturally enough, succumbed to water. Not, however, to its own excesses. It was undermined by the wash of the corroding tides and eventually went to a watery grave.

Adjacent to Grason's Landing in St. Inigoes Creek is venerable Cross manor house, whose foundations were laid by Captain Thomas Cornwallis (or in the blithe versatility of the archives: Cornwayles, Cornwallys, and Cornewallis). He arrived with the first settlers in 1634 and received his two manors of 4,000 acres for transporting immigrants into the province the first year. He was a member of His Lordship's council, his name appearing first after the Lieutenant General's in the list of the first Assembly, and he was accounted the wealthiest planter in this first generation of white men on the Potomac. Ridgeley says that several stories are told to account for the manor's name: "one of them is that, early in the days of the Virginia Company, a party was sent to explore the rivers and creeks

north of the Potomac, and as they did not return, a second party went in search of them, and found their dead bodies on the sandy beach where they had been murdered by the Indians. A cross was here erected to mark their place of burial, and Cornwalleys, finding this cross, named his manor after it. Another story, equally tragic, is that Cornwallis, while one day hunting with his dearest friend accidentally shot him. A cross was raised to his memory, and Cornwallis ever afterwards lived a recluse."

The north shore of St. Inigoes Creek and the land along the St. Mary's, as far as the site of the ancient capital, comprised the southern outskirts of the little city. The holdings were small and the divisions were naturally numerous. Something about these vanished suburbs as well as about the City of St. Mary's itself will be found later in connection with the consideration of the towns on the river.

Across the St. Mary's from the capital were lands of the proprietor. The most interesting evolution was the estate of Porto Bello. This colonial home survives, and in it is found an excellent specimen of a pent-house "of such ample dimensions, extending into the cellar, as might shelter two or three fugitives." Its name recalls the adventure of several Potomac River lads early in the eighteenth century. They were Lawrence Washington, Edwin Coade, and William Hebb, midshipmen in the British navy. They were attached to the command of Admiral Vernon and fought with him at Porto Bello and Carthagena. When they returned home, young Washington built himself a house on the river which he named Mount Vernon after his

commander; William Hebb called his place Carthagena which has succumbed to the more modern name of Hatton's Corbett; and Edwin Coade perpetuated his experience in the West Indian campaign by naming his place Porto Bello. William Hebb is buried in a well-preserved sarcophagus on Porto Bello. On his Carthagena lands, near the head of Carthagena Creek, is a quaint veteran of a small house, built of brick, and bearing in the brickwork of its south front, set three feet high in dark glazed headers, the initials W. H., carrying the strong presumption that the house was built by William Hebb early in the eighteenth century.

One of the most uncompromisingly low stretches on the Potomac is behind Piney Point where the land, when seen from a distance, seems scarcely to rise above the level of the water but merely to indicate its presence by tree-tops. This was Evelynton Manor, granted in 1637 to Captain George Evelyn. Just beyond, however, the higher lands approach the river and the beautiful mansion of Mulberry Fields surveys the neighbourhood which for centuries has taken its identification from an old poplar tree near by. Poplar Hill Hundred was one of the earliest settlements after St. Mary's; Poplar Hill Creek puts in just west of Mulberry Fields' water-front; and Poplar Hill Church was the second Protestant church building in Maryland. The original church was built in 1642 and the present edifice in 1750.

Between the mouths of Bretton Bay and St. Clement's Bay there is a long low peninsula now known variously as Newtown Neck and Beggar's Neck. Originally this was the Manor of Little Bretton, granted to

William Bretton who came to the Potomac in 1637. The lord of Little Bretton was a figure in the early days. He was a member of the Assembly and was twice its clerk. "With the hearty good liking of his wife," Temperence Bretton, he gave the Catholic colonists a piece of ground on his manor, "near to ye narrowest part of ye freehold of Little Bretton, commonly called ye Straits," on which they erected the chapel of St. Ignatius and in which they buried their dead. The chapel disappeared long ago but there are evidences of the cemetery. Not only did Bretton give his name to the bay east of his manor lands, but the history of his later reverses is perpetuated in the later name of the land. He died in poverty and his children became the objects of charity, wherefore the manor lands were later known as Beggar's Neck.

The large neck of land across St. Clement's Bay from the peninsula of the unfortunate Bretton embraced some of the most interesting grants and subdivisions and houses of early Maryland. Rather more than half of this tract, and fronting on the Potomac itself, was St. Clement's Manor. In the northern portion of the neck, on the Wicomico and Chaptico Bay, was Basford Manor. These have already been referred to briefly in the preceding chapter. Across Chaptico Bay from Basford Manor lay the 61,000 acres of the Proprietor's manor of Chaptico.

St. Clement's vast acreage extended up the bay of the same name as far as Tomaquoakin Creek and up the Wicomico as far as Gerrard's Creek. It was granted to "Thomas Gerrard Gent." in 1639. The lord of this manor was a member of the Governor's

Council and one of the big figures of the days of the settlement. It is believed that he resided at Brambly but the original dwelling has long since disappeared. Many celebrated estates grew out of St. Clement's. Thomas notes Longworth Point, the Blackistone homestead and the residence of Nehemiah Blackistone when President of the Council in 1690; St. John, the Gardiner homestead; Little Hackley, the Shanks homestead; Bluff Point, the Coade homestead; Mattapany, the Chesildine homestead; and Bushwood, the Slye homestead. The last-named house survives, one of the most interesting on this side of the river. Its stairway, still intact, presents a singular pattern, having been built without either rails or posts. It has been attributed to Bowen, who was among the "King's prisoners" transported to the colony. The stairway rises to an upper hall which is exhibited as one of the few remaining chapels where the Catholics assembled for private celebration of Mass during the period when public worship was denied them.

Apart from its exceptional size St. Clement's Manor challenges attention on several especial counts. On St. Clement's Island (now Blackistone's), which was a part of the Gerrard grant, was made the first landing of the pilgrims who arrived in the *Ark* and the *Dove*. It is unique among Maryland manors as the only one whose records have survived with any degree of completeness. They are preserved in the archives of the Maryland Historical Society and furnish in quaint old English the exact details of the procedure of Courts Baron and Leet in the days when the lords of the manor exercised their prerogatives. St. Clement's was also the scene of

Official Photo., U. S. Naval Air Service.

THE MOUTH OF THE WICOMICO RIVER

At its union with the Potomac. The land in the foreground was a part of Wolleston Manor. The water behind the island is Neale Sound.

Rose Hill, in Charles County, Maryland

significant events in the Protestant Rebellion of 1659 against Catholic control at St. Mary's, for on its lands Fendall made his proclamation as Governor of the little Republic of Maryland, and here were mustered the soldiers who set out thence to capture, and did capture, the capital at St. Mary's.

Within sight of Bushwood to the north and overlooking the Wicomico, stood, until some time in the last century, Notley Hall, home of Governor Thomas Notley and later of a Lord and Lady Baltimore. In this same neighbourhood, at one time, stood Bushwood Lodge which claims the attention of all patriots as the homestead of the first of the Key family to come to the New World. This was Philip Key, the great-grandfather of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Members of the same family lived in Tudor Hall, a mansion which stands on the edge of Leonardtown overlooking Bretton Bay. It is individualized by a curiously inset portico. The family tomb may be found in the rear of Christ Church at Chaptico and near by rests, it is to be hoped, an eccentric pirate who directed that he should be "planted in an upright position."

Fifteen bushels of corn was the annual quit-rent for the more than fifteen hundred acres of Basford Manor which was also a possession of Thomas Gerrard. Two beautiful seats rose on these lands on the high ground in the angle between the Wicomico and Chaptico Bay. One was the manor house overlooking the river and the other was a lodge called Bachelor's Hope. Like other old houses on the Potomac the manor house withstood the natural vicissitudes of centuries to fall an eventual

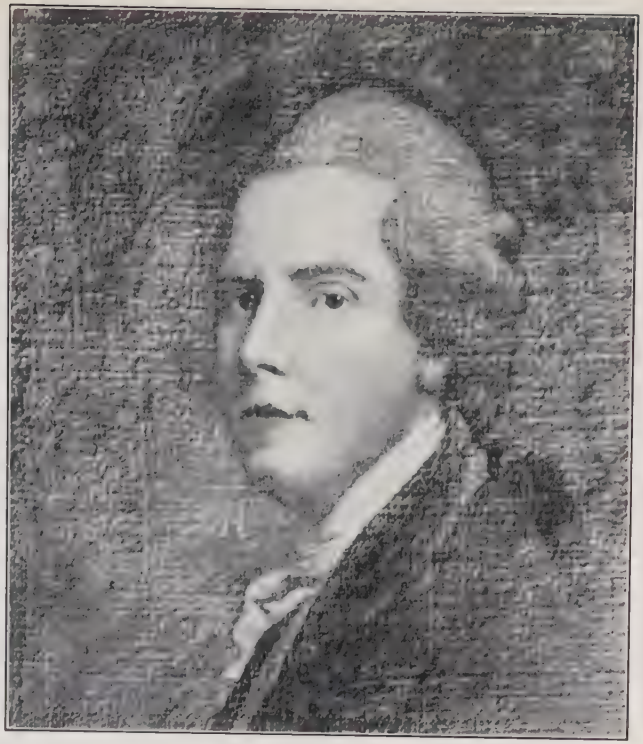
victim to the accident of fire. It is remembered as a frame mansion with brick gables and a steep gambrel roof and within it was enriched by much handsome carved woodwork. Bachelor's Hope survives and it is one of the quaintest specimens of early colonial building on the river. This lodge is built of brick, in part glazed, whose green and purple tints give renewed evidence of early acquaintance with the now so popular tapestry effects to be secured in brickwork. The outside stairway is a unique feature. It rises within the columned portico and terminates inside the house in the upper hall from whose gallery one may look down upon the lower central hall. The roof lines of Bachelor's Hope are quite individual. The first story is extensive for a small compact house, but only the central portion rises to two stories. This upper story supports a steep roof and is itself supported by fine chimneys and the steep pyramidal roofs from the first story on each side. This lodge passed from Sir Thomas Notley to Colonel Benjamin Rozier, husband of Lady Baltimore's daughter, Anne Sewall. Governor Notley's own seat, Notley Hall, was on the Wicomico, and in this neighbourhood is the estate of Deep Falls, formerly Wales, which has been the home of the Thomas family uninterruptedly since the date of its patent.

The lands of Wolleston Manor complete this interesting group about the Wicomico. They comprised 2,000 acres on the peninsula between the Potomac and the Wicomico on the west side of the estuary, and were granted in 1641-1642 to Captain James Neale, a man able in his own right and the progenitor of some of the leading families of Maryland and Virginia.

Neale came to the Potomac about 1636 from London. His ability was at once recognized by the Governor for whom he performed many commissions in addition to his definite public services as a member of the Assembly, as one of the Governor's Council, and as commissioner of His Lordship's Treasury. He married Anne Gill and with her returned to Europe. There they remained about fourteen years, principally in Spain and Portugal, where he represented the King of England and the Duke of York in various matters. Captain Neale and his wife were prime favourites with English royalty, and it is a tradition in the family that Anne Neale was a maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria, and that the Queen acted as godmother to her daughter Henrietta Maria Neale who became one of the notable women of the colonies. Among the heirlooms in the family are a ring said to have been given to Anne Neale by her royal patron and a monstrance token of her devotion to the Catholic Church. "This ring," says Mrs. Richardson, "which was made to fit a very slender finger, is of the same general design of the Jacobean rings worn by the friends and adherents of King Charles I of England. This has always descended in the female line. It is quaint, with a device of skull and cross bones, and has a secret spring which when pressed reveals a tiny but exquisitely painted miniature of the martyr king and dated January 30, 1648 (O. S.)."

When the Neales returned to Wolleston Manor in 1660 they brought their five children—Henrietta Maria, James, Dorothy, Anthony, and Jane—all born abroad, for whom the Captain petitioned and received naturalization. The charms of the girls at once attracted

suitors not only from the great Potomac families but from other parts of Maryland and Virginia. Henrietta Maria Neale first married Richard Bennett, Jr., son of the governor of Virginia and their son Richard became one of the richest men in all the colonies. Her second husband was Colonel Philemon Lloyd of Maryland. Her daughter Elizabeth married Colonel Charles Scarborough and her daughter Anne married Theodoric Bland, a man of whom it was said that he was "in understanding and learning inferior to no man in Virginia." Among Henrietta Maria Neale Bennett's descendants in Virginia were John Randolph, of Roanoke; Richard Bland, member of the first congress at Philadelphia; Theodoric Bland, Colonel in the Revolutionary Army; Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Virginia Court of Appeals; John Randolph Tucker, Attorney General of Virginia; General "Light-Horse Harry" Lee of the Revolutionary Army; and Robert E. Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate States Army. Dorothy became the wife of Roger Brooke of the family of De La Brooke Manor on the Patuxent. Anthony married first Elizabeth Roswell and second Elizabeth daughter of Colonel William Digges. Jane became the wife of William Boarman. James Neale, Jr., the eldest son, married Elizabeth the granddaughter of Governor Calvert, and became heir to the lordship of Wolleston Manor. The greatness of this family survived everywhere apparently except on the acres of old Wolleston. Here the only reminder of the Counsellor and Treasurer and of the god-child of the queen is the name of the little strip of water behind Cobb's Point known as Neale's Sound.



THOMAS ATWOOD DIGGES

Of Warburton Manor, from the portrait attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds.

JOHN HANSON

Of Mulberry Grove, from the statue in the Capitol of the United States.

The Smallwood, Jenifer, Crain, Harris, and other distinguished colonial families later lived on the lands between the Potomac and the Wicomico. On the west side of this estuary of the big river stood Harris' Hard Bargain, Smallwood's West Hatton, and Daniel Jenifer's Charleston. This Jenifer sat in four sessions of the Congress and was United States minister to Austria. He was a grand-nephew of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, another son of this sweep of the Potomac, who helped frame the Constitution of the United States and signed it for the state of Maryland.

Whether one views the hills about Port Tobacco Creek from the surface of the water or stands upon the heights and looks out upon the noble river, the traveller is bound to agree with Sutcliff who found this neighbourhood "beautiful beyond description." The channel of the river here turns sharp to the left making a course southwest, but where it turns the Maryland hills come closer to the water and rise higher than anywhere farther down river, and they separate to admit the tide into Port Tobacco Creek for a distance of nearly four miles. "Portobacco Clifts" is the descriptive term used by Tom Dent in his will in 1676. In spite of its remoteness from the down-river capital and its exposure to the depredations of the Indians, these highlands were appreciated from the first. Thomas Cornwallis of Cross Manor near St. Mary's was granted "4,000 acres of land in any part of Potomac River upward of Port Tobacco creek" in 1641.

The Jesuit missionaries secured their largest acreage on the Potomac on this creek. Father White doubtless recommended it. In 1642 a grant of 4,000 acres

on both sides of the creek was made to Thomas Matthews as trustee for the society. Thirty-five hundred acres were taken on the west side and five hundred on the east side. These lands have been known from the beginning as St. Thomas Manor. The manor house with a large chapel attached was raised on the smaller tract, and it may have suggested the name of the point of land below, Chapel Point. Later a church was built on the same side of the creek. St. Thomas has been owned by the Jesuits and used by them as a residence uninterruptedly for the interval of nearly three hundred years. The same year St. Thomas Manor was erected Nicholas Causine, to use only one of the many modes of spelling his surname, was granted 1,000 acres adjoining the "chapel lands" and this has been known traditionally ever since as Causine's Manor. Not far away in Calvert County the same Nicholas had Eltonhead Manor of 5,000 acres.

About the little town which grew up at the waterside in the bowl of the lovely hills, and later nearly vanished, there were other famous seats which carry traditions of able men of the eighteenth century. Chandler's Hope was Colonel William Chandler's seat; Mulberry Grove was the seat of John Hanson, of whom more presently; Rose Hill was the seat of Dr. Gustavus Brown; at Habredeventure lived Thomas Stone, Signer of the Declaration of Independence; and Rosier's Refuge was the seat of Colonel John Contee. Near by LaGrange is said to have been built by Washington's intimate friend, Dr. James Craik, at the same time as and in rivalry with Dr. Brown's Rose Hill which it much resembles. Mulberry Grove and Rose Hill are elo-

quent of the distinguished men who lived there. They stand on the heights northward toward the head of the valley, one on the hills to the east and the other on the hills to the west, and they face a vista to the southward which embraces the whole valley of Port Tobacco and an indefinite outlook down the Potomac to the misty distance where the water and sky and the Virginia shore line merge and disappear.

Dr. Brown of Rose Hill, like so many others of his stalwart contemporaries, disclosed many talents. He was a judge and legislator as well as a physician. His character for justice is well exhibited in a letter he wrote to Dr. Craik. When General Washington lay on his death-bed at Mount Vernon in December, 1799, Mrs. Washington called Dr. Craik and Dr. Dick from near-by Alexandria and also Dr. Brown from the much more distant and inaccessible Port Tobacco across the river. This was in itself testimony of his ability if this letter did not confirm his character for justice:

"I have lately met Dr. Dick again, in consultation, and the high opinion I formed of him when we were in conference at Mount Vernon last month, concerning the situation of our illustrious friend, has been confirmed.

"You remember how, by his clear reasoning and evident knowledge of the causes of certain symptoms, after the examination of the General, he assured us that it was not really quinsey, which we supposed it to be, but a violent inflammation of the membranes of the throat, which it had almost closed, and which, if not immediately arrested, would result in death.

"You must remember he was averse to bleeding the

General, and I have often thought that if we had acted according to his suggestion when he said, 'he needs all his strength—bleeding will diminish it,' and taken no more blood from him, our good friend might have been alive now. But we were governed by the best light we had; we thought we were right, so we are justified."

There is reminiscence of one of the great river families in Brentland and Brent's Landing here on Port Tobacco, and not far away was the home of Squire Richard Lee, grandson of the Richard Lee of Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland, and son of Philip Lee of Blenheim, Prince George's County. Squire Lee's house was on the big river below the mouth of Port Tobacco River and was a scene of continuous entertainment of travellers between Virginia and the northern colonies who used Hooe's Ferry just beyond to cross the Potomac. Being a Lee he was of course a public character. His most notable office was probably that of member of the Proprietor's council in 1755.

At Mathias Point opposite Port Tobacco the Potomac turns westward before it again turns north on Maryland Point. Before and after it sweeps around Mathias it washes a broad, flat section to the north known sometimes as Dunham neighbourhood from its parish name and sometimes as Nanjemoy from the creek which puts in just west of Port Tobacco.

The principal landholder of this neighbourhood was Captain William Stone who was the first Protestant Governor of Maryland appointed by Lord Baltimore. His lands, known at first as Nanjemoy Manor, lay west of the creek and, according to his bequests, con-

tained over 2,800 acres. A part of this land appears to have been known later as Poynton Manor. Another part, known as Equality, was the home and burial place of Samuel Hanson, one of the founders of the distinguished family of that name. Other Hanson places near by were Green Hill later known as Hanson's Hill, Mulberry Grove, and Harwood. Beautiful Oxon Hill, farther up river in Prince George's County, was early a Hanson seat.

The Hansons came to upper tidewater Potomac in the second half of the seventeenth century, and were distinguished through generation after generation. The wife of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer was a Miss Hanson, and another Miss Hanson was the mother of Thomas Stone, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. The grandson of the immigrant, and like him named John Hanson, was a leader in Revolutionary affairs. He filled one public and patriotic post after another until in his capacity as President of the Continental Congress he welcomed General Washington officially on his return from receiving the surrender of Cornwallis. His title was "The President of the United States in Congress Assembled." His son, Alexander Contee Hanson, was one of Washington's private secretaries, and, after a distinguished judicial career, he compiled the laws of Maryland at the request of the Legislature. They are known as Hanson's Laws. Both Presidents Harrison were descendants of this family, and closely akin were President Grover Cleveland, Samuel J. Tilden, and other notables.

At some unidentified point in this neighbourhood was born Admiral Raphael Semmes who commanded the

Confederate cruiser *Alabama* in its historic fight with the *Kearsarge.* His early years were spent at Efton Hills.

Not far from the Nanjemoy manors along "Smallwood's Church Road," put through in the eighteenth century, but a much longer way round by the river, is Smallwood's Retreat on Mattawomen Creek. The first of the Smallwoods here was Major James who came to this point in 1681 and became a member of the Assembly in 1696. His son Bayne followed him later in the Assembly and his grandson was the Revolutionary General William Smallwood. Near the shore of the river the Sons of the Revolution have placed a monument to mark the supposed burial place of this great man who was commissioned Colonel in 1776, Brigadier General in 1777, Major General in 1780, and was elected Governor of Maryland in 1785. Masons and Alexanders and Chapmans were neighbours of the Smallwoods, and the Chapmans had a fine seat a few miles farther up river on the south side of Pomunky Creek from which they commanded a vast water view in both directions. The mansion is called Mount Aventine.

Here the Potomac turns northwest again and then very shortly to the northeast, and soon the mouth of Piscataway Creek opens another lovely vista. It was into these waters that Governor Leonard Calvert came in search of a proper site for the first settlement of the Baltimore colony. Here for years Father White dwelt a missionary among the Indians. Once a town threatened to rise at its head and did rise to the distinction of a theatrical performance by the cele-

brated company of players from Annapolis, one of the earliest theatrical companies on this side of the Atlantic.

Among the old estates along this inlet were Locust Thicket, Stoney Harbour, and Piscataway Forest, but the two that hold the largest interest lay on or near its union with the river. Just south and west of the mouth of Piscataway Creek is Marshall Hall, ancient seat of the Marshalls of Maryland. Its land was probably the five hundred acres called "Marshall," survey of which appears in Lord Baltimore's rent rolls as granted William Marshall in 1651. When William bequeathed his five hundred acres in Charles County to his wife in 1673 he called it "Two Friends." His son William willed "Piscataway" to his widow. The Marshalls married Hansons, and Charles Hanson Marshall of Marshall Hall has kept himself remembered for a land controversy which he had with neighbour George Washington of Mount Vernon across the river, a controversy in which Marshall did not come out second best.

On the promontory on the north lip of the mouth of this creek near where now stand the aged, gray, and obsolete bastions of Fort Washington once stood Warburton Manor house. This was the seat of one branch of the Digges family whose sons in Virginia as well as in Maryland were prominent in colonial and revolutionary affairs. The first Digges of Warburton was William descendant of Edward Digges, a member of the Council and in 1650 Governor of the Colony, and of "Sir Dudley Digges, Knt. and Bart., Master of the Rolls in the reign of King Charles I." On his own part

William was a member of the Council and Deputy Governor of the Province in the absence of Lord Baltimore in England, and in command of the capital at the mouth of the river during the Protestant Revolution. His son, George of Warburton, added lustre to the family name by his character and attainments. He was the "neighbour Digges" of Washington's letters. When the Continental Congress desired to send a confidential representative to the Court of St. James's, Washington backed his son, Thomas Atwood Digges, who received the hazardous but complimentary commission. He was no stranger to London for he spent much of his youth there and was known as "the handsome American," an epithet confirmed by his portrait ascribed to Sir Joshua Reynolds. The intercourse between Mount Vernon and Warburton Manor was at all times intimate. Washington, in going to Philadelphia and New York, frequently made Warburton the Maryland landing point when crossing the river. On such occasions the President would have his coach and horses sent over the night before to be in readiness for his later arrival. He would be rowed across in his barge next morning. There was a code of signals between Warburton and Mount Vernon. When either had guests for the other their barges, manned by slaves in checked shirts and black velvet caps, would shoot from the opposite shores and meet in midstream where the passengers were exchanged.

The City of Washington is in plain sight of Warburton Manor lands and there is an interesting connection between these two historic Potomac points. The capital city was planned by a Frenchman, Major

Charles L'Enfant, who was later commissioned to plan Fort Washington. When he undertook this work he went to Warburton Manor and resided there for seven years as the guest of his friend Thomas Digges whose nephew, William Digges, later gave the Frenchman asylum in his home, Green Hill (later known as Riggs' Farm), on the Sligo branch of the Anacostia River. There the creator of the plans of the national capital died and there he was buried. Later his remains were removed to Arlington and rest on the brow of the hill overlooking the city the plan of which his genius conceived.

Before leaving Piscataway neighbourhood there remains to tell of Mount Airy, the seat of Benedict Calvert. The old mansion survives, rich in its association with colonial bigwigs of the Potomac. It stands on a plantation known in early records as "His Lordship's Kindness," and though not strictly a Potomac River estate it borders on the "ffreshes of Piscataway" and by other ties partook of the neighbourhood life of the great river. It was a favourite stopping place for General and Mrs. Washington when travelling between Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Mount Vernon. Mrs. Washington's son, John Parke Custis, on his trips between Mount Vernon and his schools in Annapolis, Princeton, and New York, stopped here frequently. Out of these visits grew a romance, and eventually young Custis married Eleanor Calvert and took her to live at Abingdon on the Potomac, of which something remains to be told in connection with the homes on the Virginia side of the river.

Estates of historic distinction between Oxon Creek

and Anacostia River were Oxon Hill, Gisborough, St. Elizabeth's, and Blue Plains. All date back into the seventeenth century and Lord Baltimore was the original grantor. All overlooked the Potomac at or near the mouth of the Anacostia River except Oxon Hill which lay on the high ground on the north side of the mouth of Oxon Creek opposite the city of Alexandria. Its fine mansion was a river landmark until it was destroyed by fire in 1895. This was one of the seats of the Addisons, relatives of Joseph Addison of *Spectator* fame and of most of the colonial aristocrats of Maryland and Virginia. It is sometimes spoken of as Addison Manor.

Two miles above the Anacostia River or Eastern Branch, the Potomac turns to the west under the heights of Georgetown and soon thereafter its tidewater reach terminates in the narrows below the Falls. Most of the shore between these points, which formerly was wholly within the jurisdiction of Maryland, is now in the District of Columbia. Its lands were familiar to the earliest Maryland colonists and some of the river front was embraced in manors. One of the most conspicuous of these was Duddington Manor, of 1,000 acres, dating to 1663, which extended along the north side of the Anacostia and inland so far as to embrace the site of the present Capitol of the United States. This was the seat of Daniel Carroll, the great-uncle of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Other early grants of large tracts, extending up the Potomac above Duddington Manor, were The Father's Gift, White Haven, The Widow's Mite, and St. Philip and St. Jacob.

This concludes the Maryland half of this brief indication of the more important estates which were washed by the Potomac. The current of the narrative now carries back to the river's mouth in order to sketch in the plantations and mansions and celebrated characters who made history on the Virginia shore.

CHAPTER VII

Plantations and Mansions on the Virginia Shore—Northumberland House and Mantua—Wilton, Pecatone, Bushfield, Hickory Hill, Stratford, and other Westmoreland Seats—Lees in Public Life—Birthplace of Washington, Madison, and Monroe—Chotank and the Fitzhughs—Aquia and the Brents—Leesylvania and "Light-Horse Harry"—Belle Air and Parson Weems—Gunston Hall—Mount Vernon, Abingdon, Woodlawn Mansion, Tudor Place, and Arlington.

THE tide of civilization crept up the Virginia side of the Potomac a trifle more slowly than on the opposite shore. The presence of the capital of the colony of Maryland on the river gave the shore on that side the value of proximity to the centre of things. The Virginians' outlook from their "centre of things" on the James perceived the Potomac dimly, days' of travel distant on the northern extremity of their colony, a wilderness given over to savages. But, at any rate, it was known at Jamestown.

The traders who sailed north and "trucked" for corn and fur among the Potomac Indians must have carried stimulating accounts of the salubrious highlands back to those in the south whose flat lands rose only a few feet above the water's edge. The presence of the tax-dodging Maryland immigrants on the Coan was not without its influence. These were factors at home, and in England the narrative of Captain Smith and the Relation of Father White must have made the Potomac a topic.

If the Virginians were somewhat tardy in arriving in the Potomac, however, once they started they came with a rush and remained and builded strong and handsomely, and produced here a civilization reflecting the best traditions of England and a group of men unsurpassed elsewhere in an equal area in any of the colonies.

Scarcely is the broad entrance of the big river passed when, on the left hand, the deep waters and protected landings of Coan River invite to anchorage. On the east bank of this inlet and looking out from its raised position over a wide panorama stands Mantua, embodiment of all that remains of the principal pioneer of Northumberland County on the Potomac. It is said that the foundations of lovely Mantua are built of the ancient bricks of the ruins of Northumberland House which rose near by on the Potomac shore but crumbled and disappeared as have the notable family of Presley whose seat it was. Mr. Presley probably came across the river with the immigrants from Maryland for he appeared among the earliest settlers and was their first representative in the House of Burgesses in 1647. Beyond this all that appears to be known of the doughty builder of Northumberland House is that he was murdered there by his servants, from which gruesome history one turns with a lively relief to the tale of Captain Harry Thornton.

Captain Thornton whose mother was a Miss Presley of this old house lived farther up the Northern Neck on his estate called North Garden. He was, relates Lancaster, "a gentleman devoted to racing and other sports, in consequence of which his estate became seriously in-

volved. The line between Caroline and Spotsylvania counties runs through the North Garden yard, and the story goes that when the sheriff of either county would come to arrest him for debt, he would simply step over the line into the other county. One day the sheriffs of both counties came at the same time and the gay captain's gay life of freedom seemed doomed to be brought to a close. Appearing to give up all hope of escape he ordered his horse (which unknown to the sheriffs was a racing mare famous for speed) and rode quietly off between his captors. After riding for a mile or so, he stopped, pretending to arrange a stirrup leather, while the sheriffs went ahead for a few yards; when, wheeling his horse about, the captain raised his hat and with a polite 'Gentlemen, I have the honour to wish you a very good day,' galloped off at a speed which the sheriffs knew they could not equal, and so escaped."

The estuary next above the Coan is the Yeocomico and here the line is crossed into Westmoreland County, which extends up this shore for about thirty miles. The sons of English and French families who settled here founded one of the most distinguished intellectual, social, and historic groups in colonial America. Along this stretch of shore was the land of the Washingtons, Lees, Corbins, Fantleroys, Ashtons, Turbervilles, Marshalls, Carters, Monroes, and others as highly esteemed in Virginia if not so widely known beyond the old dominion. Westmoreland was referred to in the eighteenth century as the Athens of Virginia.

Between the Yeocomico and the Lower Machodic River was Sandy Point, the colonial plantation of Colonel George Eskridge, guardian of Mary Ball, the

mother of George Washington; Hominy Hall, an Aylett house and the birthplace of the first Mrs. Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly; Springfield, the seat of General Alexander Parker, an important ally of General Wayne in the Revolution; Wilton, a venerable and charming survival on Jackson's Creek; Pecatone, of the Corbins and Turbervilles, dating from 1650; and at Cole's Point, presumably the Salisbury Park of Richard Cole resident on the Potomac in 1659.

Many are the quaint traditions of the dwellers in old Pecatone. The compiler of Lee of Virginia quotes a writer on Westmoreland as saying: "Many wild stories were told, in my youth, of how a lady owner (Mrs. George Turberville) played the part of a petty tyrant among her overseers and negroes, confining the former in her dungeons beneath the house, and the latter sometimes whipped to death! How she travelled at night in her coach and four, armed with pistols and guns. How, in the last days of her recklessness, she, her coach and coachmen were borne aloft in a terrible hurricane, and lost to sight. From that day the house remained unoccupied for years. Then, in popular opinion, it was haunted: lights were seen passing from room to room, and awful groans and shrieks at night would assail the ears of the luckless traveller who happened to be in the vicinity." This seems to have been the sprightly tempered Mrs. George Turberville who, in addition to "pistols and guns," carried axes when she went abroad in her coach to "remove all obstructions."

George Turberville of Pecatone seems to have been of an equally positive temper. Fithian, in his diary

written while a tutor at Nomini Hall, noted: "Mr. Carter dined at Squire Lees some few weeks ago; at the same place, that day, dined also Mr. George Turberville and his wife—— As Mr. Carter rode up he observed Mr. Turberville's Coach-man sitting on the Chariot Box, the Horses off—After he had made his compliments in the House, he had occasion soon after to go to the door, when he saw the Coachman still sitting, and on examination found that he was there fast chained! The fellow is inclined to run away, and this is the method which This Tyrant makes use of to keep him when abroad."

Of Henry Corbin the patentee of Pecatone there are more amiable traditions. He was one of that never-to-be-forgotten quartette of bon-vivants—which included, besides himself, John Lee, Isaac Allerton, and Thomas Gerrard, a refugee from his manor of St. Clement's across the river—who entered into a contract in 1670, later duly recorded, to build them "a banqueting hall" at or near the head of Cherive's (now Jackson's) Creek where their estates cornered. It was agreed that each party to the contract should "yearly, according to his due course, make an honourable treatment, fit to entertain the undertakers thereof, their men, masters and friends. . . . Every four years to have a procession to every man's land for re-marking and bounding by line-trees or other particular divident or seat. . . . This for the better preservation of that friendship which ought to be between neighbours, that each man's line, whenever anyone of us is bounded, one upon another, may be remarked and plainly set forth by trees." . . . It

WILTON

should be noted that though the re-marking of boundaries was made the occasion for the agreement, that ceremonial occurred only once in four years, whereas the "honourable treatment" was an annual feast. The planters loved a good time and appear to have had it from the earliest days.

Although the lands at Cole's Point, on the east side of the mouth of the Lower Machodoc, appear later to have belonged to the vast holdings of Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, the name given it by the patentee, Richard Cole, was Salisbury Park, presumably after his ancestral home in the County of Hertford, England. Cole was a character. An item, preserved by the Virginia Historical Society, relates of him: "In 1665 he was brought before the Westmoreland Court on the charge that in the presence of several gentlemen he said that, 'Sir William Berkley durst not show his face in England,' that if the said Cole were in England he had better credit than 'His Honour,' that he was better born and better bred, that 'he expected his brother to come in Governor, who would kick his Honour from his place. And he should be a Councelor at least, and then would Act Knavery by Authority,' that 'he had formerly a better man (than Berkeley) for his pimpe, for a Knight of Malta was his pimpe' &c. His neighbours 'Hardwick and Hutt were rogues,' and Washington 'an ass—negroe-driver,' whom he would have up before the Governor and Council, 'as a companie of Caterpillar fellows,' who 'live upon my bills of export.' When Richard Cole died in 1674 he directed that his body be buried upon his plantation in a neat coffin of black walnut, and over it a gravestone

of black marble to be sent out from England 'with my Coate of Armour engraved in brasse and under it this Epitaph:

> Here lies Dick Cole a grievous Sinner
> That died a Little before Dinner
> Yet hopes in Heaven to find a place
> To Satiate his soul with Grace.' "

An account by Fithian, in his diary, of a trip down the Machodoc to Councillor Carter's storehouses at Cole's Point and the return by way of the big river into Nomini Creek must be repeated in full as a happy introduction to the neighbourhood surrounding the latter inlet about which clustered so many famous mansions:

"The *Colonel, Ben* & *myself* rode on Horse-back about Six to M^r^. *Atwels;* four lusty, hearty men had gone on foot before who were Oarsmen: Here we were to enter a Boat never rowed before, proceed down the River Machodock to M^r^. *Carters* Store-Houses which are now building near the mouth of that River—The Boat that carried us is built for the purpose of carrying the young Ladies and others of the Family to Nominy Church—It is a light neat *Battoe* elegantly painted & is rowed with four Oars——We went on board; The sun beamed down upon us, but we each had an Umbrella——The River is here about Gunshot over; the Banks are pretty low, but hard to the very Water——I was delighted to see Corn & Tobacco growing, or Cattle & Sheep feeding along the Brink of this River on both Sides, or else Groves of Pines, Savins & Oaks growing to the side of the Bank——We

passed by an elegant small Seat of Mr. *Beal;* it was small, but it was neat—We arrived at Mr. *Carters Store-Houses* in 50 minutes, they are five Miles from Mr. *Atwels*, & one from Patowmack——These Houses are building for the reception of Iron, Bread, Flour &c. there are two Houses each 46 Feet long by 20.——They stand at the Bottom of a Bay which is a safe & spacious harbour——Here we breakfasted at ten,——At twelve we pushed of from thence & rowed by parson Smiths Glebe & in sight of his house in to the broad beautiful Potowmack——I think it is here ten Miles or twelve over has a fine high hard Bank; no Marshes—but Cornfields, Trees, or Grass!——Up the lovely Water we were rowed six Miles into the Mouth of Nominy——We went on Board a small Schooner from *Norfolk* which lay on Nominy-Bay——Mr. Carter is loading her with Flour & Iron——Here we were in sight of Stratford, Colonel Lee's Seat——We were in sight too of Captain Cheltons——And of Colonel Washington's Seat at Bushfield——From the Schooner we rowed up Nominy-River——I have forgot to remark that from the time of our setting out as we were going down Machodock, & along the Potowmack-Shore, & especially as we were rowing up Nominy we saw Fishermen in great numbers in Canoes, & almost constantly taking in Fish, Bass & Perch——This was beautiful!——The entrance of Nomini is very shoal, & stony, the Channel is very narrow, & lies close to the Eastermost Side——On the edges of the shoals, or in Holes between the Rocks is plenty of Fish——The Banks of Nominy are steep and almost perpendicular; The Course of the River is crooked, & the prospects on each Side vastly romantic & diversified

——We arrived at the Granary near Nominy-Hall about six—I went to my room to take off an Account of the expedition."

Nomini Hall stood on the west bank of Nomini Creek about three miles from its union with Nomini Bay. It was one of the three famous Carter mansions on the Northern Neck. The other two were Corotamon in Northumberland and Sabine Hall on the Rappahannock and only a few miles from Nomini Hall. Near by the latter was the beautiful Mount Airy of the Tayloes. With these and other famous old mansions near by, Bushfield, Chantilly, Hickory Hill, Stratford, Nomini Hall, and others on the Potomac formed a comparatively small neighbourhood which developed colonial culture and social life to a high degree. In this group as a part of the old neighbourhood must be included the venerable Glebe house on Glebe Creek, Machodoc River, the residence of the Rector of Cople Parish.

Near the eastern side of the mouth of Nomini Creek stood Bushfield, best known as the seat of John Augustine Washington, younger brother of George Washington. "His house," wrote Fithian after a Sunday dinner with the Carters, Parson Smith, Mr. Campbell the Comptroller, and others, "has the most agreeable Situation of any I have seen in Maryland or Virginia; the broad Potowmack, which they account between 7 and 8 miles over, washes the gardens on the North, the River Nomini is within a stones throw on the West, a levil open Country on the East; a Lane of a mile and three quarters accurately measured, lies from the House South-East. . . . There are no Marshes

Waddy B. Wood, Architect.

BUSHFIELD

On the east lip of the mouth of Nomini Creek, Westmoreland County, Virginia. The original house on the same spot was the home of John Augustine Washington, younger brother of George Washington.

Washington's Birthplace

Looking down Pope's Creek in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The point in the middle distance juts out from the waterside acres of Wakefield where in 1732 George Washington was born.

near, which altogether make the place exceeding Description."

Hickory Hill, another Turberville mansion, was within three quarters of a mile of Councillor Carter's. Only three miles north on the heights overlooking the Potomac, opposite Colonel Washington's Bushfield, was Chantilly, the seat of Richard Henry Lee, one of the greatest minds and tongues in the struggle for Independence; member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and of the first general Congress, President of the Congress, mover of a resolution for Independence in Congress on June 7, 1776, originator of the Committee on Correspondence, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the Congress which adopted the Federal Constitution and under it one of the first two United States Senators from Virginia. Lee places are sprinkled all over Westmoreland. Richard, son of the Emigrant, was buried in the grounds of Mount Pleasant, a Lee place near the Potomac about four miles east of Nomini Creek. Adjoining this estate in the old days was Lee Hall, another mansion of this family which gave so many distinguished men to the service of the colonies and the young republic. The first of the family to reach America built and lived in Cobbs, forty miles south of Nomini in Northumberland, overlooking Chesapeake Bay, and, near to Cobbs, Hancock Lee built and lived in another famous mansion, old Ditchley Hall.

Still another and probably the most famous of all the Lee places on the Potomac is Stratford whose thousands of acres bordered the river just above Nomini Creek stretching back from Nomini Cliffs.

The patent to Stratford dates to the middle of the seventeenth century. The first considerable mansion on this estate is said by Lancaster to have been built by Thomas Lee early in the eighteenth century, and to have been destroyed by a fire shortly after in 1729, lighted by convict servants whom the master of Stratford, sitting as magistrate, had sentenced to punishment for some misdemeanor. The compiler of Lee of Virginia says that this fire more probably destroyed Mount Pleasant. In recognition of his fidelity to his office the English Government after the fire wherever it occurred voted Colonel Lee a reward of three hundred pounds. He almost immediately built the superb mansion which survives at Stratford. Here were born many of the distinguished public men enumerated below. The builder of Stratford was himself the president of the colonial council and acting governor of the colony in the absence of the royal appointee. He was the father of six sons, all born at Stratford, who were unmatched in public service and attainment by any other six brothers in American history: Philip Ludwell Lee was a member of the House of Burgesses and of the Colonial Council of which he was the secretary; Thomas Ludwell Lee was a member of the House of Burgesses, of the Conventions of 1775 and of the Committee of Public Safety; Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee crowned distinguished careers as Signers of the Declaration of Independence; William and Arthur Lee, the youngest sons, were in the diplomatic service of their country in Europe during the Revolution.

The contribution of the Lee family to American public life is thus summarized by Lancaster: "To

Virginia one governor, four members of the Council of State, and twelve members of the House of Burgesses; to the Colony of Maryland two Councillors and three members of the Assembly; to the American Revolution four members of the Convention of 1776 . . . two Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and their three other eminent brothers, Thomas Ludwell, William, and Arthur Lee; and the foremost cavalry officer of the Revolutionary War, 'Light-Horse Harry' Lee. To the Civil Service of the United States the family has furnished one attorney general and several members of Congress, and to the State of Virginia, two governors, to the State of Maryland, a governor, and to the Confederate States, the great commander of its armies, three major generals, and one brigadier general. Later, during the troubles which culminated in the war with Spain, General Fitzhugh Lee gained added distinction as consul general to Cuba and as a major general of the United States Army."

A few miles above Stratford behind a marshy entrance are the pleasant waters of Pope's Creek named for one of the oldest families on the Potomac, but immortalized by the boy who was born on its banks. Up river from this creek a distance of about a mile and a half is Bridge's Creek. The land between the two creeks was settled by John Washington, the immigrant, after he came out from England in 1656. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, gave his name to his parish, and was a thrice-married man. The name of his first wife is not known. His second wife was the daughter of his neighbour Nathaniel Pope, and his third wife was the daughter of Thomas Gerrard of St. Clem-

ent's Manor and the festive Westmoreland banqueting hall. The first Washington homestead is believed from evidence in the soil to have been built on Bridge's Creek. Here, too, is the Washington burying ground, additional evidence of an early dwelling near by, for in olden times the family graves were made very near the homestead. When this house disappeared is not known, but the immigrant's grandson, Augustine, lived on the west side of Pope's Creek near its mouth in a strong simple frame house of a story and a half with a columned portico overlooking the water. Here to Augustine Washington and his wife Mary Ball was born on February 22 (N. S.), 1732, the son whom they called George. That house disappeared long since. The farm has for generations been known on the river as Wakefield, but it is not believed that George Washington knew it by this name.

As if this one event were not glory enough for the old river, not to mention a mere county, James Monroe, later President of the United States, was born on the shore of a bay given his name just north of Maddox Creek; the home of Thomas Marshall, father of the first Chief Justice of the United States, was just back from the river; and James Madison, another President, was born a few miles to the west; all in Westmoreland.

Not far inland in this same part of the same county are three places which belonged at times to a clergyman and educator named Archibald Campbell, uncle of the British poet Thomas Campbell. These places are Pomona; Kirnan, formerly China Hall, and Campbellton. It was at the last-named house that Mr. Campbell kept a school famous in the days of Washington's

youth. Bishop Meade tries, somewhat arduously, to establish that James Monroe, James Madison, Thomas Marshall, and George Washington all went to this school.

The shore for a little way above this neighbourhood, as if exhausted by its effort at history making, lapses into a stretch of commonplace and does not challenge attention again until the river has swept around Mathias Point. From Rosier's Creek, below Mathias, over a course as far to the west as Potomac Creek, it washes the shore of King George County for thirty miles. This shore and its continuation some distance beyond to the north has been given, by Virginian tradition, the neighbourhood name of Chotank. It may have taken this name from a little inlet about two miles long which ebbs and flows through a marsh about three miles southwest of Mathias Point. In its more elastic sense Chotank neighbourhood reached as far north as Occoquon Creek.

The great family of Chotank was that of Fitzhugh and their places crowned the hills along the river and inland as far as the Rappahannock. The Fitzhugh immigrant was William, who was born in the town of Bedford, England, came to the Potomac in 1670 when thirteen years old, acquired vast tracts of land on the river, and on the hills overlooking the waters at Chotank Creek built his residence and named it Bedford for his English birthplace. He was a lawyer of prominence and an extensive planter, merchant, and shipper. His numerous letters disclose a strong character and incidentally reveal an insatiable passion for silver plate which he ordered from England on all occasions. He

married Sarah Tucker of Westmoreland when he was twenty-three and she was only eleven years old, and sent her to England to be educated. His five sons inherited his vast estates referred to in a previous chapter and on their own lands built some of the finest mansions of colonial times. All were on or near the Potomac and belonged to the river neighbourhood. Among them may be noted Eagle's Nest opposite Maryland Point; Boscobel, just back of Potomac Creek; Marmion, near by; Chatham, on the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg; Belle Air "of Stafford," and Ravensworth in Fairfax.

Henry Fitzhugh of Chatham was all but ruined by the drains of hospitality, connected as he was to so many prominent families and known to all of them, as they stopped to visit him on their way up and down the main highway through Fredericksburg. In self-defence he fled from his splendid mansion and built Ravensworth "in the forest" in the centre of Fairfax, inland and away from waterways and roads.

William Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest was one of the Potomac boys who fought under Admiral Vernon at Carthagena. He is the centre of one of the most interesting traditions of the Rousby family, of Rousby Hall on the Patuxent, which tells how he won the hand of a widow Rousby. Thomas in his careful study of Colonial Maryland reports:

"Mrs. Rousby noted alike for her beauty, dignity, position and wealth, became a widow at the age of twenty, her only child being then an infant. Among her suitors was Colonel William Fitzhugh of Virginia. His position and fortune were good, but the fair widow

of Rousby was inflexible. Col. Fitzhugh, however . . . was not to be subdued and continued to press his suit. On one occasion having paid a visit to Mrs. Rousby, and on leaving the house to take his boat, the nurse appeared, bearing in her arms the infant heiress of Rousby Hall. Snatching the child from the nurse's arms, and unheeding the cries of the baby, the desperate soldier-lover sprang into his boat and ordered his men to push from the shore. When some distance out in the Patuxent, he held the child over the water, threatening to drown it if its mother did not relent and agree to become his wife. The mother half frantic, stood upon the river bank while her mad lover held her innocent child between sky and water. Believing that the threat would be executed she yielded and sealed her fate, by becoming shortly afterwards Mrs. Col. William Fitzhugh, and the baby that was not drowned became the wife of Gov. George Plater."

After the Fitzhugh immigrant built Bedford on Chotank scions of other colonial families followed into the same neighbourhood, and a list of these places include Hilton and Waterloo, both Washington homes; Richard Stuart's Cedar Grove just west of the creek; and Caledon of the Alexanders, one of the first grants on the river. Farther along the shore, nearer Eagle's Nest, rose Chatterton, seat of Colonel Peter Ashton, dating from about 1667, though later it became the home of a branch of the Tayloe family.

Potomac Creek on the elbow of the next turn in the river may be recalled as the home of the first resident white man on the river, Henry Spelman, who lived here with his friend the King of the Patawomecks. In

common with other creeks its lands were patented early and it became the centre of a populous neighbourhood. In the eighteenth century its hills were dotted with the homes of sons of families whose names are doubtless entirely familiar. On the north lip of Potomac Creek's mouth was Marlboro, the estate and mansion of the Mercers, a distinguished family of whom John Mercer of Marlboro compiled "Mercer's Abridgment of the Virginia Laws." Here once stood the Court House of Stafford County. Adjoining Marlboro was the seat of Rawleigh Travers, brother-in-law of the mother of Washington. Near by were Crow's Nest, named for Travers Daniel's fleet ship, *The Crow;* Carter's Park, which was a fraction of the three thousand acres which "King" Carter, "being of sound mind but in a crazy disordered condition respecting my health," willed his son George in 1730; and Berry Hill, a Lee place, home of Thomas Ludlow Lee, one of the six distinguished sons of the builder of Stratford Hall. In the hills south of this creek rose Boscobel, Belle Air, the Seldens' Salvington, and the Waughs' Belle Plaine, all within a space of some eight or ten miles square.

Brent's Point at the mouth of Aquia Creek next above is at once suggestive of the Brents who were so conspicuous in the first years at St. Mary's. These stormy spirits found it expedient eventually to leave Maryland and they sought asylum on the Virginia shore in 1650. Mistress Margaret died on her estate, perhaps significantly called Peace, and Giles Brent later died on his estate with similar significance called Retirement. Augustin Herman's map of Virginia and Maryland, 1670, spreads the name "Brent" over the

GUNSTON HALL
Colonial Home of George Mason

MOUNT VERNON

The home and last resting place of George Washington, on the Potomac River. The group of supporting small buildings, on the north side of the mansion, showing only half of the total number, indicate the self-centred nature of the life on the Potomac plantations in colonial days. The lawns are protected from the grazing cattle by the ha-ha walls seen at the extreme right of the picture.

entire peninsula between the river and Aquia Creek. Wherever the first dwelling may have been it is certain that not long after this Giles passed away his descendants had built their mansion on a tract of one thousand acres, called Richlands, a few miles above Aquia Creek and fronting immediately on the river. The first house was burned by the British Fleet, under Lord Dunmore, during the Revolution, but there has ever since been another house on the same site. There is a tradition that Martin Van Buren came in great style to Richlands in his coach behind four white horses and liveried footmen to pay court to its mistress, a member of the Fitzhugh family, but that the unsympathetic lady declined his hand. Woodstock, at the head of Aquia, was built by George Brent, a nephew of Margaret and Giles. He was the land agent of Lord Fairfax and Lady Culpepper, and his second wife was the daughter of Lady Baltimore. The descendants of the Brents of both Richlands and Woodstock were much in public life from the days of the immigrants and became connected by marriage with the Carrolls, Sweeneys, Calverts, Johnsons, Walshs, Moshers, Youngs, Forests, Digges, Neales, and others of Maryland; with the Masons, Lees, Grahams, Fitzhughs, and others of Virginia; and with the Livingstons and Backuses of New York.

This item, interesting to the story of this part of the Virginia shore of the Potomac, occurs in the will of Henry Lee of Lee Hall, 1747: "I give and bequeath to my son Henry and to his heirs forever, all my plantations and land in Prince William County, which I have at Free Stone Point and at Neapsco and Powells Creeks, which was granted by patent to Gervas Dodson

for two thousand acres, and by my grandfather, Henry Corbin Gent. given to his Daughter Lettice who was my mother and afterwards descended to my brother Richard Lee as Heir at Law to her and by my said brother given to me."

On the heights, behind Freestone Point referred to above, rose the mansion of Leesylvania, and from that situation spreads one of the most comprehensive views on the Potomac. To the south the river blends with the sky miles before the hills about Aquia and Potomac creeks rise above the horizon. To the north open the broad waters of Occoquon and Belmont bays and northeastward the reach of the river is uninterrupted by the Maryland hills over a distance of nearly ten miles. Perhaps the most notable personage associated with this mansion was Henry Lee, who was born here in 1756. This Henry Lee was graduated from Princeton in 1773, became the dashing "Light-Horse Harry" Lee of the Revolution, and his son, Robert E. Lee, was the commander-in-chief of the armies of the Confederacy and their idol. Henry Lee was a great favourite with General Washington. No doubt his personal character and his efficiency as an officer sufficiently account for this, but it is interesting to view this favour of the Commander-in-Chief in the light of the fact that young Lee was the son of Lucy Grymes, "the lowland beauty" of Washington's early love affairs.

General Henry Lee was, after the war, governor of Virginia and a member of Congress. While he was in Congress news came of the death of General Washington and he was the author of the House resolutions on that event in which he wrote the memorable words

"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens."

A few miles from Leesylvania, screened from the river by billowing hills, in the neighbourhood of Neabsco Creek, stands a mansion which was a part of colonial river life as surely as if it had stood directly on the shore. It is Belle Air, home at first of the Graysons and then of the Ewells, and finally the last resting place of the erratic and indefatigable Parson Weems (Mason Locke Weems) inventor of the classic cherry-tree story and of the youthful George Washington's reputed "Father, I cannot tell a lie, I cut it with my hatchet." Weems during a long life was a nomadic preacher and book-agent along both sides of the river. He even carried a fiddle and when a tune was needed to inspire a dance, he supplied the deficiency.

One still hears repeated on the river this anecdote of the Parson which was first told by Bishop Meade: "On an election or court day at Fairfax Court House, I once found Mr. Weems, with a book-caseful [of books] for sale, in the portico of the tavern. On looking at them I saw Paine's 'Age of Reason', and, taking it into my hand, turned to him, asking if it were possible that he could sell such a book. He immediately took out the Bishop of Llandaff's answer, and said, 'Behold the antidote. The bane and the antidote are both before you'." His "Life of Washington," which is estimated to have reached as high as seventy editions, was not his only literary production. In addition to many pamphlets he wrote short "popular" lives of General Francis Marion, Benjamin Franklin, and William Penn.

Beyond Occoquon Bay to the east is a vast tract known as Mason's Neck, and on the highlands, looking out upon the river near the mouth of Gunston Cove, though somewhat screened to-day by the hedges and trees, is Gunston Hall, the home of George Mason, intimate friend and advisor of Washington and Jefferson; author of the Fairfax Resolves, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of the state of Virginia. He died possessed of vast land holdings on upper tidewater Potomac and his sons and other connections had numerous fine mansions on this part of the river. He established one of his sons on an estate called Woodbridge at the mouth of Occoquon Creek; for another he built Lexington which had a magnificent outlook down river from a point near Gunston Hall; another son lived a few miles above Mount Vernon at Hollin Hall; and Analostin Island, in the Potomac opposite the mouth of Rock Creek, was for many years the site of the home of another of the sons of George Mason of Gunston Hall. This island was first known as My Lord's Island and then as Mason's Island, though the mansion was called Barbadoes. It eventually was the home of George Mason's grandson, Senator James Murray Mason, author of the "Fugitive Slave Law." The house is a ruin and the island is a wilderness. Returning to Mason's Neck, one finds on the ridge running through its centre and just beyond the gates of Gunston Hall and Lexington an estate called Springfield. Here lived, in the eighteenth century, Martin Cockburn, an Englishman who had married a Virginian, and achieved a none-too-enviable notoriety as the uncle of the British Admiral Cockburn who pillaged the Potomac.

ARLINGTON

Photo. by Leet Brothers.

The bold promontory between Gunston Cove and Dogue Creek is the principal spot on the river identified in a domestic sense with the family of Fairfaxes who at one time held by royal patent the whole of the Northern Neck. This peninsula was known as Belvoir and was a Fairfax residence from its earliest days until the mansion was destroyed by fire in 1783. The house stood near the edge of the bluff at its highest point and commanded superb water views as far east as the Digges' Warburton Manor and as far south as the hills above Pomunky Creek in Maryland. Belvoir was intimately identified with the boyhood of George Washington. Here he met Lord Thomas Fairfax from whom he learned surveying and for whom he surveyed his vast holdings in the valley to the northwest where His Lordship built Greenaway Court and spent his last days. The last of the Fairfaxes at Belvoir was Colonel George William Fairfax, a royalist who returned to England when the colonies revolted. His younger half-brother, Bryan, remained, however, and was unmolested in Mount Eagle, his home on the south side of Great Hunting Creek overlooking Alexandria and in sight of Oxon Hill across in Maryland. Washington visited Mount Eagle frequently and in this house he took with his friend Bryan Fairfax and his family the last meal which he ate away from his own home.

Only two miles above Belvoir rose the mansion which of all, not only on the Potomac but in all America, is best known and is most hallowed to Americans, Mount Vernon, the home and last resting place of George Washington. The Washington immigrant settled, as

noted, farther down river in Westmoreland, and there many of the family had estates. His grandson, Augustine Washington, and his second wife, Mary Ball, took their little family to their tract in upper tidewater, next their friends the Fairfaxes, in 1735. After his son Lawrence returned from the West Indian campaigns under Admiral Vernon, in which he served with the other Potomac young men, and had married Anne Fairfax of Belvoir, he gave this tract to Lawrence, who named his new home Mount Vernon after his admired commander. George came here frequently as a boy and eventually became its owner as heir to his half-brother Lawrence. The story of this home is a history apart.*

Washington's secretary and the historian of his last hours was Tobias Lear and to him the General bequeathed the house and farm called Wellington on the northeast corner of his estate, and the dwelling, though altered, still stands on a high point in the shore half way between Mount Vernon and Alexandria.

With Mount Vernon, through George Washington's wife, Martha Custis Washington, and her children, are linked the remaining places which distinguished this side of the river. When Mrs. Washington came to Mount Vernon she brought with her the son and daughter of her union with Daniel Parke Custis, the girl died before maturity, but the boy, John Parke Custis, lived, it will be remembered, to marry Eleanor Calvert of Mount Airy, across in Maryland beyond the head of Piscataway Creek, and to become the father of four

*"Mount Vernon, Washington's Home and the Nation's Shrine," by Paul Wilstach. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916.

children. Jack Custis was heir to a large fortune and he bought large tracts on the Virginia shore above Alexandria. He brought his bride to Abingdon, a relatively small but attractive formal frame dwelling on the river bank just opposite the entrance to Anacostia River, which survives to-day. The children born at Abingdon were Elizabeth Parke Custis, later Mrs. Law; Martha Parke Custis, later Mrs. Thomas Peter; Eleanor Parke Custis, later Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, and familiarly known as "Nelly" Custis; and George Washington Parke Custis.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Peter built Tudor Place on one of the highest points of near-by Georgetown. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis built Woodlawn Mansion on 2,500 acres of land from the western side of Mount Vernon on the high ground at the head of Dogue Creek bequeathed to Colonel Lewis by his uncle, General Washington. George Washington Parke Custis built Arlington on the Virginia hills overlooking the then newly planned Federal Capital. These three houses survive, and each is a superb specimen of its own type of architecture, exquisite pendants to venerable Mount Vernon and worthy ornaments of the head of tidewater Potomac.

CHAPTER VIII

Towns on Tidewater—Paper Towns—The Provincial Capital at St. Mary's, Its Rise and Fall—Kinsale, Leonardtown, Port Tobacco, Dumfries, Colchester, and Occoquon—Piscataway and the Annapolis Players—Historic Alexandria—Georgetown at the Head of Navigation.

THE plantations, as will be seen, were communities sufficient each unto itself. Such was the depth of water and the continual series of natural harbours for sailing vessels in the creeks throughout tidewater Potomac, that the ships as a rule came to the planter's own landing and he had no need for ports. The river valley from the first remained the home of agriculture and fishing, to the exclusion of manufacturing, which would have stimulated town building. Except at the head of tidewater, where later the vessels put off their consignments for settlements in the hill country beyond their reach, only a few towns survive. This is not because the effort and, in at least the case of St. Mary's, the cause were wanting.

The old records and papers are full of references to "towns." Most of these were "paper towns," or perhaps a landing head with a tobacco warehouse and a store, for it has been said, "the settlers call *town* any place where as many houses are as individuals required to make a riot; that is twenty."

St. Mary's City was the pioneer in town life on the

Potomac as it was in colonization. But its example and its results in town making were not so effective nor so permanent as in colony making. To-day the landing at St. Mary's heads on a quiet shore almost as innocent of habitation as on the first spring day when Captain Henry Fleete led Governor Calvert and his pilgrims up to its beautiful green sweeps.

Yet here for over half a century stood the capital and only town of the whole province of Maryland. Hither, to attend court and to sit in the Assembly, and to adjust their taxes and other county business, the settlers came sailing down the Potomac from as far as Anacostin Indian Town opposite the site of the present national capital and down the Chesapeake from distant Kent Island and the mouth of the even more distant Susquehannah. Here Governor Calvert and his kinsman, Lord Baltimore, held a court and a control with princely powers over a territory equalling a principality. It is a unique instance in all American history of a colonial capital which has perished and left no trace of itself above the fields to which time has levelled it.

For thirty years after the arrival of the pilgrims St. Mary's made little real civic progress. It was Charles Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, who raised the little capital to its highest distinction. In 1668 it was incorporated into a "city" with municipal officials and the privilege of holding a weekly market and an annual fair. Thomas enumerates the civic improvements of St. Mary's at its highest stage of development as the "fort, or palisado, which though a rude structure compared with those of more modern date, was solidly

built and well enough mounted to protect the inhabitants against the warfare of that day; its massive and dignified State House, with its thick walls, tile roof, and paved floors; its stout jail, with its iron-barred windows; its market-house, warehouses, and several ordinaries; its unique brick chapel, the victim of the persecution of the Roman Catholics of later times; its quaint Protestant church; its pretentious and fortress-like executive mansion; which, with its offices, private houses, and shops—of varied architectural design—numbering, it is said, about sixty, and scattered over the elevated but level plain, studded as we are told, with primeval forest trees, constituted the picturesque little metropolis of early Maryland."

At the west end of Middle Street, on the point where Horseshoe Bend begins, stood the Great Mulberry Tree which saw the rise of the capital as well as its decline and obliteration, and became, in the isolation of its endurance, a traditional landmark in Maryland akin to Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. It survived until 1876 when some of its wood was worked into the decorations of near-by Trinity Episcopal Church, and smaller cuttings went, the way of General Washington's coach, into canes, gavels, and other souvenirs. It is said that relic hunters found crude nails embedded deep in the wood of the old mulberry, used, no doubt, in the early days to post Calvert's proclamations and other public notices for the enquiring gaze of the colonists. Almost within the shade of the historic tree stood the jail on the east in "Gallow's Green" and the state house on the south. The fort was still farther south where Key's Branch joins the St. Mary's.

The heart of the capital lay between this branch and St. John's Creek on the other side of Middle Street with its taverns, chapel, coffee house, and homes of the various dignitaries. Charles, Lord Baltimore, when governor, lived in the Palace of St. John which overlooked the St. Mary's from the north side of St. John's Creek. South of Middle Street was the town house of Leonard Calvert and then, along the St. Mary's in succession, beyond the Branch, "the White House" of Treasurer Giles Brent, "Sisters Freehold" of Margaret and Mary Brent, "Greene's Rest" of Governor Thomas Greene, the home of Chancellor Philip Calvert on Chancellor's Point, and the home of Daniel Wolstenholme, Royal Collector, at the junction of St. Mary's with St. Inigoes. The Collector's house survived in part as beautiful Rose Croft which burned away only a few years ago. It may be identified by the curious reader as "the Collector's House" in Kennedy's romance of early Maryland, "Rob of the Bowl."

All the while the little city was building, however, there were forging the weapons which were soon to strike it to the heart. Unwisely Calvert had placed his capital at the uttermost end of the province. With every shipload of immigrants the centre of population ebbed farther away. Moreover, the unqualifiedly Catholic character of the capital city alienated it from the Protestant settlers farther north and across the Bay on the Eastern Shore.

There were two temporary removals of the capital before the final stroke. When the Puritan Commonwealth came into power in England its colonial partisans in 1654 seized the documents and records at St. Mary's

and moved them to Mr. Preston's house on the Patuxent River. The city's ancient rights were restored, however, in 1659. A calm of twenty years succeeded. Then, in obedience to popular clamour for a capital nearer the centre of the province, the courts and offices were removed to "The Ridge" in Anne Arundel County. One session of the Assembly was held here when the peripatetic capital, after a three-days' session at Battle Creek on Patuxent, returned to its original home on the Potomac. When William of Orange mounted the English throne in 1689 and Protestantism again became the established religion, the Catholic capital was doomed. The renewed proposal to wrest the capital from St. Mary's provoked a bitter controversy, but in the end the northern party won and ever since then the Maryland Assembly has sat at Annapolis on the Severn.

Bereft of all that gave it life St. Mary's City succumbed to the inevitable and peacefully passed away. All of it that is known to survive are the scattered fragments of the old Mulberry Tree, the bricks from the Catholic Church said to have been used in building the Manor of St. Inigoes a few miles away, and at Georgetown University, the council table, and the bell which in 1681 was hung in the State House the more economically to convene the Assembly and Court which formerly had gathered at the drummer's roll.

All but a few other towns on the Potomac refused to blossom. Community life kept to the private basis of the plantation. The situation pleased the planter. He was practically a feudal lord. Besides his family, he controlled his white indentured servants as completely

as his black slaves who were his personal property. Yet, when towns refused to sprout spontaneously these same planters in Assembly struck the soil with the wand of legislation and ordered towns to spring forth.

Virginia led the way in legislating towns. In 1679 the Burgesses ordered that each county should purchase fifty acres of land. The price allowed was ten thousand pounds of tobacco and cask. It was directed that all goods for exportation should be brought to the towns and all servants, chattels, and other importations should be landed at the towns. Certain curious immunities were offered prospective residents, among them was that by which tradesmen and mechanics who took up permanent residence in the towns were to be free from arrest or seizure of their estates for debts contracted previously elsewhere. William Fitzhugh wrote optimistically to "Capt. Fras. Partis, near East Smithfield, London": "We are also going to make towns, if you can meet with any tradesmen that will come in and live at the Town they may have large privileges and immunitys."

Thus spurred, Maryland, as time ambled in those days, quickly followed Virginia's suit. Let there be towns, declared the Assembly at St. Mary's four years later, in 1683. "They shall be ports and places where all ships and vessels, trading in this province," declared the act as finally passed, "shall unlade and put on shore, and sell, barter and traffic away."

The three town sites selected on the Virginia shore were, in the original terms: "In Northumberland County, Chicacony," now Coan River Landing; "In

Westmoreland County at Nominie on the land of Mr. Hardwicke"; and "In Stafford County at Pease Point at the mouth of Aquia on the north side." Maryland ordered just double that number in 1683. The sites selected were: "The City of St. Maries, Brittons Bay, Between the Mouth of Chaptico Bay and Westwood house, In Wiccocomoco River in or near Hattons Point, in Port Tobacco Creek near the Mouth, and At Chingo Muxen." The following year she added: "And at the mouth of Nanjemoy Creek att or neare Lewisses Neck." But of the making of paper towns on this side there seems to have been no end for at least three others were added in 1686 and two more two years later. Scraps of paper all, torn up by time. There are places at which, said Thomas Jefferson, "the *laws* have said there shall be towns; but *Nature* has said there shall not."

Virginia's legislation touching the river seems to have been an example to Maryland in other things besides ordering towns. For when the southern colony established ports in 1691 for the collection of all import and export duties, the northern colony followed suit in 1706. Again when Virginia established eight public warehouses for the inspection of tobacco on her shore in 1730, Maryland was spurred to order half a dozen similar warehouses on her side of the river. Those on the Maryland side were brick. This creeps out of the records. Perhaps the old Virginia tobacco warehouses were of brick also. There are no apparent remains to contradict a theory.

Among the legislated towns only a few seem to have had more than a paper existence. Kingsale then, Kinsale now, on the West Yeocomico, though never

more than a village, brisk at boat-time, served as a public landing for a settled inland neighbourhood. Leonardtown, at the head of Bretton Bay, fell heir to the court house of St. Mary's and survives as the leading trading point of southern Maryland.

Port Tobacco once rivalled St. Mary's. It enjoyed a fine harbour, a protected position surrounded by prosperous plantations, and was on one of the most favoured colonial routes between the North and the South. Weld wrote of it, in the beginning of its decline in 1795: "Port Tobacco contains about eighty houses, most of which are of wood and very poor. There is a large Episcopalian church on the border of the town, built of stone, which formerly was an ornament to the place; the windows are all broken, and the road is carried through the church-yard, over the graves, the palings which surround it having been torn down." Nearly all the eighty houses have long since gone the way of those at old St. Mary's, but the few remaining, with their mossy brick and sagging roofs and crazy chimneys, compose a unique and very quaint specimen of a derelict colonial town.

The thrifty Scots who sailed up the river and came to anchor in Quantico Creek discovered near its mouth a beautiful meadow and there founded a substantial town which they named Dumfries. Evidences remain of the handsome stone-trimmed brick buildings which ornamented the place. It was for a while the centre of a considerable trade. These same Scots divided and some of their number settled on the Maryland shore farther up river. They left their mark in the name of one of the early (1696) political divisions, New Scotland

Hundred, which included within its limits the present territory of the District of Columbia.

Before Parson Weems went to Belle Air to live he made his home at Dumfries. Here he had his book shop and his base of supplies whence he travelled up and down both sides of the river preaching, fiddling, and peddling. A more dignified figure was that of William Grayson who practised law in Dumfries after he returned from across seas from his studies at Oxford. He was one of Washington's most active supporters before and during the Revolution though he sided with George Mason in opposing the Constitution as adopted. However, when the nation was duly constituted, Virginia chose Grayson as one of her first two United States Senators. The other earliest Senator from Virginia was, as already noted, another Potomac man, Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly.

At the head of Occoquon Bay, where it meets the creek of the same name, at the waterside once stood the little town of Colchester whose reason for being was the ferry at that point which united the roadways north and south on the Virginia shore. Later an arched stone bridge supplanted the ferry, itself in turn to crumble and disappear. But in its heyday Colchester was a lively junction point for travellers who sampled its tavern's delicacies while the stable boys shifted the horses. "On this side the bridge stands a tavern," wrote rhapsodic Davis in 1801, "where every luxury that money can purchase is to be obtained at a first summons."

The same Davis spent some months a few miles up the creek where stood, and still stands, the village

of Occoquon. He doesn't mince matters in the description: "No place can be more romantic than the view of Occoquon to a stranger, after crossing the rustic bridge, which has been constructed by the inhabitants across the stream. He contemplates the river urging its course between mountains that lose themselves among the clouds; he beholds vessels taking on board flour under the foam of the mills, and others deeply laden expanding their sails to the breeze; while every face wears contentment, every gale wafts health, and echo from the rock multiplies the voices of the waggoners calling to their teams." It would seem after this as if nothing more remains to be said of this town. However, attention should be called to the fact that the "mountains that lose themselves among the clouds" are nowhere above two hundred feet high, and Davis himself naïvely admits elsewhere that, in addition to two mills, "Occoquon consists of only a house built on a rock, three others on the riverside, and a half a dozen log huts scattered at some distance."

Piscataway Town, which took its name from the creek of that name, has at least one distinction. As already noted it was here, and one wonders where in a little colonial river village, the troupe of actors from the theatre in Annapolis presented one of the plays of their classic repertoire in 1752. This appears to have been the first theatrical performance ever given on the Potomac. It is possible that among the audience gathered for so distinguished an event were seen the Hansons and Addisons and Digges from near-by manors, perhaps entertaining their Virginia neighbours, George Mason and his lady of Gunston Hall and a certain

eligible young man of twenty years, recently heir to his brother's Mount Vernon.

The two river towns which evolved from natural causes, and hence grew to importance and survived, were Alexandria on the west bank and Georgetown on the east bank, and only about seven miles apart. They took root near the head of tidewater Potomac where focussed the journey's end of most of the ships with cargoes for inland settlements to the north and west.

Among the public warehouses ordered in 1730 was one to stand at "Great Hunting Creek, on Broadwater's land." Here, or at least near by, grew a settlement at first called Belhaven, later the city of Alexandria. Its old streets and houses are rich in history. Especial interest attaches to the fine mansion which Colonel John Carlyle built near the shore on a high terraced foundation, in 1752. Three years later in this house five royal colonial governors met General Braddock, who had recently arrived to take command of the British forces in America, and evolved plans for the campaigns against the French and Indians on the west. Out of this meeting grew, it is said, the British determination to tax the colonies, which taxation in turn fermented the Revolution. It was from Alexandria that Braddock made his start on his fatal campaign beyond the mountains on this occasion. He gave George Washington a commission as aide-de-camp on his staff in Colonel Carlyle's house. Braddock took Washington with him, but he did not take his advice, and acknowledged his mistake as the breath left his body. When Washington returned and married and settled at Mount Vernon as a planter he made

Alexandria his market town, driving up there occasionally to worship at Christ Church, more regularly after the Revolution, to vote, and to attend the balls and routs, among them the first public celebration of his birthday. Here again in the Carlyle house an eventually significant conference was held in 1785, attended by General Washington and the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, to settle certain disputes between the two commonwealths. This meeting adjourned to Mount Vernon and from it sprang the call for a meeting of delegates from all the commonwealths in 1787. This convention met in Philadelphia and framed the Constitution of the United States. In Alexandria, in comparatively early days, was built the first permanent theatre on the river, not reputed to have been a handsome structure, and the resident companies at Annapolis came to Alexandria in the eighteenth century to repeat their plays. It became the metropolis of the northern end of tidewater Virginia.

Georgetown rose apparently on the site of the Indian town of Tohogae, visited by Captain Fleet in 1632. Its position at the head of tidewater, below but near the falls, was a natural position for a shipping point in the days of almost exclusive water transportation. Similar natural conditions established and maintained Richmond at the head of tidewater on the James, Fredericksburg at the head of tidewater on the Rappahannock, and Baltimore at the head of tidewater on the Patapsco.

There was a ship's landing at Georgetown at least as early as 1703. Then and thereafter estates were fast developed back on the hills to the north, as well as

south and east over the site of the future national capital. Georgetown was incorporated in 1751; and immediately became an important little metropolis. It was the main stopping place between Fredericksburg and Baltimore Town on the colonial highway from South to North. A continual round of celebrities were entertained in the coffee rooms and tap rooms of the ordinaries whose courtyards resounded with the pleasant excitement of shifting coach horses and exchanging coachmen and passengers. When the Federal Capital first came to the Potomac, it, too,was for a time largely a paper town, and the foreign ministers established their legations in the mansions on the heights of Georgetown. Its union with Washington City has destroyed neither its individuality nor its charm.

The rise and development of the Capital City at the head of tidewater Potomac is living history, the topic of a considerable literature, another story apart from this brief chronicle of the river.

With this glance at the location and at the fate of these towns on the river the survey of the general development of life along the Potomac is completed. The native Indian has been seen to give way to the explorers, and the explorers to the planters. In the planter group are the dominating and determining figures in the story of life along the shores. Established in their seats above their landings, be they manor houses of Maryland or mansions of Virginia; with an ordered civil life developed; with parishes laid off and churches built; interest may now attach to more intimate features of the planter's daily existence, the domestic and social life of his home and neighbourhood.

TUDOR HALL

Overlooking Bretton Bay at Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, Maryland. It has long been identified with the Key family, relatives of Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star-Spangled Banner," who practised law on the Potomac at Georgetown.

TUDOR PLACE

Georgetown, District of Columbia. Built from drawings by Dr. William Thornton, architect of the Capitol of the United States, for Martha Custis Peter, granddaughter of Mrs. George Washington. It has never since left the possession of her descendants.

CHAPTER IX

Architecture and Building—First Dwellings—Chimneys—Nails as Heirlooms—Introduction of Glass into Colonial America—Types of Houses—Symmetrically Related Outbuildings—Porticoes—"Bricks from England" Fable—Brick Bonds—Oyster Shell Mortar—Roofs—Hedges, Gardens, and River Walks.

A VAST domain may be acquired with the stroke of a pen. In this fashion, with the point of a quill plucked from the wing of a goose, were created the private domains on the Potomac. In many cases land possession was given without other consideration than royal or proprietary favour. It was secured often by "manual service" or "meritorious service" to the colony. The mere introduction of immigrants on either side of the river was adequate consideration for the acquirement of land in units of one hundred acres per immigrant under what were known as "head rights."

Powerful as the pen is to create ownership of the land, it is, however, comparatively impotent to bring the land up to the finished state of production, and to place thereon all the adornments of a civilization traditional with the owners. The great mansions along the shores behind the landings, and on the hills behind the shores, their villages of contributive buildings, and the surrounding parks and formal gardens which embellished so many, were not the production of any façile

magic. They were an evolution. Far in perspective as they seem to-day—the survivals softened with the touch of centuries, some securely and exquisitely restored, others in ruins, but for the most part disappeared and the wound in the earth where they were screened by pine and honeysuckle and soft mosses—they came into being as the finished product of a long process.

The early shelters were cabins built of hewn joined logs the crevices chinked with clay, one end supported by a rude chimney. Next, and soon, came the frame dwelling of hewn frame and pine clapboard siding and thatched with green shingles, swinging board shutters or sliding panels at the window openings, its unseasoned and unpainted sides drawing and curling and cracking under a withering sun. These temporary expedients of the pioneer gave way before the end of the seventeenth century to numerous instances of houses of more permanent pretensions. Already indeed in a few cases wealthy and cultivated planters had by that time dug the deep foundations and built the strong walls of some of the historic survivals. In spite of additions and alterations Cross Manor on St. Inigoes Creek, St. Mary's River; Calvert's Rest on a portion of St. Gabriel's Manor on Calvert's Bay; and Bushwood on the south side of the Wicomico are believed to retain the sinews of the buildings dating in instances from the first generation of white settlers.

The first even of the permanent houses were of wood, supported by brick chimneys. As brick making developed the chimneys grew in size until in some cases the extension of their masonry formed the entire ends of dwellings otherwise of frame. One extant specimen

of such early building is the old house on Calvert's Rest, and Rose Hill and La Grange furnish specimens of this developed to an impressive degree. The mansions of brick seem to have followed only when the first generation of Potomac pioneers had passed away, in spite of the King's instructions to Sir Francis Wyat, Governor of Virginia from 1621 to 1642, requiring "Everyone having 500 acres of land to build a House of brick 24 feet long and 16 broad with a cellar to it and so proportionately for larger or lesser grants."

It has been noted how difficult the first builders found it to get nails. In the absence of any manufacturing on the river, and little enough on all tidewater tributary to Chesapeake Bay, from which the early settlers might have drawn for manufactured commodities, nails took on an extraordinary value. The nearest supply was England. Under the circumstances they became so scarce and precious that the practice of a pioneer burning his dwelling when he moved to newer lands in order to carry along the nails, became so general throughout the colony of Virginia that the following law was passed in 1645 restraining the planter: "It shall not be lawfull for any person so deserting his plantation as aforesaid to burn any necessary housing that are scituated thereon, but shall receive so many nails as may be computed by 2 indifferent men were expended about the building thereof for full satisfaction."

There was apparently no dependable local supply of nails even at the end of the seventeenth century, for William Fitzhugh of King George wrote at least once in 1695 and again in 1697 to his English agent to send

him nails. Occasionally among the chattels in the early wills, bracketed with silks, jewels, the family plate and other precious belongings, one finds nails bequeathed to lucky legatees. Nails early in the eighteenth century cost builders on the river 4 shillings 6 pence per pound. In place of the unprocurable spike necessity invented the wooden pegs which were long used to join the heavy timbers, and they may be found to-day in the exposed girders and beams and joists of the old cellars and in the roof of many an ancient attic.

It is believed that the first glass used in building in colonial America was used in the houses on tidewater Potomac. The exact date does not seem accurately determinable. One is surprised to find Beverley in his "History of Virginia," under the caption The Present State of Virginia, dated 1720, say that "of late" the private buildings have "their windows larger and sashed with crystal glass." It was in use in the dwellings along the Potomac long before this, at least twenty years earlier, for in 1698 William Fitzhugh wrote an English merchant: "Pray by the first conveniency of a London ship bound for this river send me in these things following," among which he lists "A box of Glass in quarries with lead answerable in Diamond cut, containing about 80 to 100 feet." It is scarcely believable that Lord Baltimore tolerated the absence of glass in the windows of the Governor's Castle in St. Mary's City.

The delicate details of the brick courses, windows, doors, cornices, stair-rails, newels, mantels, panelling, and carving in Oxon Hill, Stratford Hall, Bushwood, Bachelor's Hope, Gunston Hall, Woodlawn Mansion,

Chimneys

Calvert's Rest
Stratford Hall

Locust Hill
Deep Falls

STAIRWAYS

MULBERRY FIELDS
BACHELOR'S HOPE

BUSHWOOD
WOODLAWN MANSION

Mulberry Fields, Mount Vernon, and other Potomac houses, have often engaged the attention of architectural students searching for chaste models. The inevitable inquiry, of the layman at least, is how the planters secured plans for their mansions.

Architects, practising their profession as such, seem not to have existed in the colonies. When a planter was not his own architect, copying remembered details from buildings seen in England, he depended on the skilled builders who came out from England on the call of the rich gentry on the river. Such builders were often more than mere mechanics. With them it was often more than a trade, it was a profession and, indeed, on the testimony of some of the survivals, it was at times an art. Available lists of the greater libraries, such for instance as those of Councillor Carter of Nomini Hall and William Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest, give no hint of books on architecture or building or indeed of any books which might have had plates from which they might have copied or adapted classical details. Yet from the evidence in the buildings such books must have been available. Woodlawn Mansion and Tudor Place, of a later period than many of the other old houses, are known to have been planned by Dr. William Thornton, architect of the Capitol of the United States.

There was not, to be sure, a wide variety of types among the river houses. By far the greater number followed a convention, dictated by the warm summer climate. It consisted of a central hall, sometimes called the "passage," extending through the house and flanked on each side by one and sometimes by two large square

rooms. The ceilings were generally high. Above this first floor there was usually a half story with dormer windows. Only the finer mansions rose to two full stories. As the family grew so grew the house, with "additions" extending irregularly so far as any general plans were concerned. "But they don't covet to make them lofty," wrote Berkeley, "having extent enough of ground to build upon; and now and then they are visited by high winds, which would incommode a towering fabric." The effect was not unpleasant. It produced a rambling homestead, thoroughly informal, and generally suggestive of comfort and unconventionality. A few, but not many, of these houses of natural growth reached considerable size.

The first-floor plan of nearly every one of the best surviving houses on the river flanks the wide central passage by two rooms on each side. Unsupported it produced a comparatively small house as Belvoir, Gunston Hall, Belle Air, and Mount Vernon before George Washington added to it. But in these houses a sincerity of construction, a fine sense of proportion and an elegance of architectural decoration in the reception rooms dissipated the feeling of smallness.

In general, the chimneys supported the ends of the house. At other times they rose in adjacent corners of the two rooms each side of the hall producing corner fireplaces in each room. Recent excavations of the long-overgrown foundations of Belvoir reveal this as a feature of this Fairfax house, which by this and other lines is also revealed as the probable model of the original plan of Mount Vernon as it was when Lawrence Washington brought his bride, Anne Fairfax of Belvoir, from

her father's house to her new home. Sometimes only the fireplaces attached themselves to the house and the chimneys rose above the first story apart from and independent of the end walls. The recess between double chimneys was often employed for a pent house, of which a notable example was found in the original structure of Porto Bello.

From one end of the central hall rose the stairway turning over one of the front doors, sometimes by means of a rectangular landing, either horizontal as at Gunston Hall or ascending as at Bushwood, Oxon Hill, and Mount Vernon, and sometimes rising in one continuous curve as at Woodlawn Mansion and the Carlyle house in Alexandria in which was usually displayed the most ingenious examples of the joiners' skill. Occasionally the central hall had the unbroken formality of a drawing room as at Stratford Hall and the stairway was found rising in a passage between the two rooms on one side. The unbroken sweep suggestive of the old name "passage" is given the great hall in Rose Hill by concealing the stairways on either side. Whatever may have been the details peculiar to each of the stairways, nearly all of them shared in common the low rise from tread to tread which gave a sense of gliding upstairs rather than climbing.

With this conventional ground plan as a nucleus, the larger houses added additional architectural buildings at each end in varying numbers and disposed in a variety of ways. The open curved colonnade employed at Mount Vernon sets the adjoining offices forward of the main building in such a way as to create an open semi-circular court. A modification of this mode is

found also in Mount Airy on the Rappahannock. Nomini Hall stood in the exact centre of its four related outbuildings which were distant from it one hundred yards and rose on the four corners of an imaginary square. They were the school house, the stable, the coach house, and the work house. All had a second story devoted in some instances to sleeping apartments for bachelors and for servants. Stratford is centred in the same manner. Mulberry Fields reflects this idea with two fine unattached buildings set equi-distant from the big house, and parallel with it but off its axis. However, Mulberry Fields sits on the brow of the hill overlooking the low lands and the river in such a manner that there is no support for the two other corners of what might have completed a square similar to that at Nomini Hall and Stratford.

When the additional buildings were attached to the central building it was usually in balanced uniformity at each end and employing the convention beautifully exemplified in Woodlawn Mansion. In this house, described as the finest example of Georgian architecture in America, terraces and railings at each end connect smaller detached houses with the larger unit of the central part, curtains and wings. Montpelier off the river in Prince George's County is one of this type, as is also the Carroll mansion of Homewood so happily incorporated in the architectural scheme of Johns Hopkins University. On the Potomac three other similar examples are known to have been built. One is Bushwood on Wicomico, another is Rose Hill on Port Tobacco, and the third was Oxon Hill opposite Alexandria. Habredeventure near Rose Hill has its wings

connected with the central house but extending at a slight angle to its axis.

Stratford Hall was built on a plan apparently unique among all the great houses not only on the Potomac but of any other part of the colonies. Its ground lines are perhaps best described as those of the letter **H**. The perpendiculars of the letter are represented by two wings each sixty feet by thirty feet and the horizontal link is a central hall thirty feet by twenty-five feet. There is one complete lofty story raised on a basement of which so much is above ground, however, that for all practical purposes Stratford is a two-story house. The central hall has a high domed ceiling; it is panelled in oak throughout except where the panelling is interrupted by inset bookcases; and its two sides, which are pierced by windows, have large doorways centred upon them. These doorways are led up to by banks of steps over arches of fine masonry and afford the main entrances to the mansion. The basement is given over entirely to the domestic offices. On each of the other two sides of the central hall a smaller door leads into hallways extending through the wings to outside doors at each end of the house. There are twenty rooms in the house. The bricks in the basement are noticeably larger than those in the walls of the main story. Apart from its ground plan a unique feature of Stratford is the number of chimneys and the manner in which they are clustered. Four chimneys rise in a group from the centre of the roof of each wing. Each group of four is united at the top by four brick arches. The effect is at once that of stability with grace and lightness. From a distance the appearance is as if a large open bel-

fry rose above each wing. There have been many mythical secret chambers associated with colonial houses, but this arrangement of chimneys produced a genuine secret chamber in one of the wings at Stratford. It is so completely hidden that for some time its very existence was unsuspected and it was discovered quite accidentally by a carpenter who, while working in the garret, disturbed a plank which had concealed its entrance. This plank was in fact a sliding door set under the floor and held in place by a secret spring. The room thus entered from above is about eight feet square and its walls are the brick-work of the chimneys and fireplaces.

A curious feature common to most of the very early river houses was the absence of any portico. This may have been English tenacity to English custom regardless of climatic requirements. In the second and third generations the heat conquered and the comfort of a shaded out-of-door room was grudgingly acknowledged, at first by small one-story porticos before the front doors. This was the ultimate concession of most buildings up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Then a Greek revival influenced the early Republican architecture and there rose before the planters' mansions new and old some fine specimens of porticos with four large columns rising to a pediment on a level with the roof of the house. Commonly floored with dressed wood, the porticos were sometimes paved with brick and Washington carefully laid his "piazza" at Mount Vernon with stone flags imported from Lord Lonsdale's estate near Whitehaven, England. It is interesting to conjecture whether a similar purpose

may not have been served by the "1,000 feet of flag stones" ordered over from England in Captain Quinney's ship by Thomas Jett of Westmoreland.

One of the favoured conventions in speaking of colonial houses, especially those of tidewater Virginia and Maryland, is to say that they were built of "bricks brought from England." So frequently is this repeated that one might imagine all the bricks of all the colonial mansions had been carried across the Atlantic. It must be said in justice to most dependable chroniclers that they are innocent of promoting this fiction.

A careful search among historical sources to discover how extensive was the importation of brick for building on the Potomac uncovered some interesting information. It is, of course, not to be pretended that brick were not brought from England. There is evidence to show there were such importations. The letter-book of Thomas Kett discloses, in a letter written in 1770 to John Backhouse, a Liverpool merchant, a request that he send "by return of Captain Quinney as many Bricks as he usually brings." There are other isolated instances. On the other hand, a memorandum from the Custodian of the Maryland Historical Society in 1903 as to the entire number of importations of brick into that colony shows that they totalled three; one of 2,000 bricks from Charlestown, S. C.; one of 6,000 from Philadelphia; and one, and only one, of 6,000 from Bristol, England, the last about 1769 when brick kilns abounded on this side of the Atlantic. Six thousand brick, incidentally, would just about meet the requirements of one first-class old-time chimney. There is no word in all William Fitzhugh's extensive business cor-

respondence with his English agents about sending brick to the Potomac, but he does say in 1681: "If you could procure me a Bricklayer or Carpenter or both, it would do me a great kindness and save me a great deal of money in my present building."

The need to import brick from England to the Potomac did not exist to any pressing degree. The river valley is rich in brick clay. Brick-makers were among the earliest immigrants. Nevertheless, wooden buildings were raised almost exclusively during the seventeenth century and the brick burned on the plantations should have been adequate for the first chimneys which were not built of stone. The earliest reports which were sent back to England in 1607 referred to the good "red clay fitt for bricks." Six years later the Reverend Alexander Whitaker in the course of the "Good Newes from Virginia" which he sent across the sea, said: "the higher ground is clay and sand mixed together at the top; but, if wee digge any depth, (as we have done for our bricks) wee finde it to be redde clay." Moreover, the sailing ships were comparatively small and too frail to weather a considerable consignment of such compact, heavy, shifting freight. Finally, there was a more pressing need for manufactured articles out of England which precluded the use of precious space for a rough, cheap, cumbersome cargo of a commodity which was abundantly available on this side of the ocean.

As a matter of curious as well as conclusive fact a pamphlet published in England the same year as the landing at St. Mary's, and made up of extracts from the first letters home, relates that Governor Calvert's

MOUNT VERNON

Official Photo., U. S. Naval Air Service.

A view of the mansion and its outbuildings and gardens taken from an aeroplane at a point above the Potomac River itself.

party before ascending to the Potomac to seek a site for settlement, called on "Governor Harvie" of Virginia by whom they were told that "when his Lordship should be resolved on a convenient place to make himself a seat, he should be able to provide him with so much brick and tile as he should have occasion to employ, until his Lordship had made his own." The Proprietor is quoted as saying a year later: "We have a loam as makes as fine bricks as any in England."

It is true there are references in old papers to "English brick" and to "Dutch brick." This mistakenly has been supposed to refer to "brick from England" and "brick from Holland." The fact is it refers to types or sizes of brick burned here. "Dutch brick" were large and "English brick" were a smaller size.

So it is fair to assume that even the first presumably of the brick mansions on the river was built of brick not only not imported from England, but not even imported from Virginia, but burned of the Potomac's clay which made "as fine bricks as any in England." This was the Governor's mansion, called the Governor's Castle, at St. Mary's City, of which the records speak as early as 1639. It stood within the memory of witnesses living when Kennedy, in 1839, wrote his romance of colonial Maryland, "Rob of the Bowl, a Legend of St. Inigoes," and though its glory had faded, they were able to furnish sufficient details for the following description:

"A massive building of dark brick, two stories in height, and penetrated by narrow windows, looking forth, beyond the fort, upon the river, constituted the chief member or main body of the mansion. This was

capped by a wooden, balustraded parapet, terminating, at each extremity, in a scroll like the head of a violin, and, in the middle, sustaining an entablature that rose to a summit on which was mounted a weathercock. From this central structure, right and left, a series of arcades, corridors, and vestibules served to bring into line a range of auxiliary or subordinate buildings of grotesque shapes, of which several were bonnetted like haycocks—the array terminating on one flank, in a private chapel surmounted by a cross, and, on the other, in a building of similar size but of a different figure, which was designed and sometimes used for a banqueting room. The impression produced on the observer, by this orderly though not uniform mass of building, with its various offices for household comfort, was not displeasing to his sense of rural beauty, nor, from its ample range and capacious accommodation, did it fail to enhance his opinion of the stateliness and feudal importance, as well as the hospitality of the Lord Proprietary. The armorial bearings of the Baltimore family, emblazoned on a shield of free-stone, were built into the pediment of an arched brick porch which shaded the great hall door. In the rear of the buildings, a circular sweep of wall and paling reached as far as a group of stables, kennels and sheds. Vanward the same kind of enclosures, more ornate in their fashion, shut in a grassy court, to which admission was gained through a heavy iron gate swung between square, stuccoed pillars each of which was surmounted by a couchant lion carved in stone."

It might have been added that the brick of this lordly mansion was laid in "English bond" as this was preva-

lent in colonial building prior to 1710. This consisted of alternate courses of brick laid lengthwise, the headers carrying a bluish glaze. The English bond was displaced after 1710 by the rising popularity of "Flemish bond," which consisted of identical courses made up of regularly alternating heads and lengths, the heads usually glazed. Comparatively modern houses reveal courses all laid of lengths except each seventh course laid entirely in heads. Another device was to lay the bricks entirely by headers, but this was judged less satisfactory than the other methods.

The two fronts of Mulberry Fields as also of the handsome ruin half way up the hill at Dumfries, known locally as having been owned by Colonel Henderson and Colonel Willoughby Tibbs, were laid entirely by headers, and the ends of both these houses were laid uniformly in Flemish bond. There are other interesting similarities in these two houses, particularly in the delicate manner in which the interior cornices break and project with the doors and windows, which suggest that the same hand directed the building if not the planning of both of them.

The durability of the old brick mansions and other old brick buildings has been the wonder of those who have seen them and noted the beautiful white mortar full and flush to this day with the large bricks which were the prevailing colonial type. Often when restorations are undertaken, and the masonry is broken into, it is the brick and not the mortar which cracks under the blow of the hammer. The chief source of the wonderful mortar introduced into the houses on the Potomac was found in the beds underneath the waters of

the inlets. It was made of pulverized oyster-shells. It seems as if the riddle of the astonishing durability of the brick-work may be somewhat solved by the terms of a characteristic contract, that for Christ Church in Alexandria, built in 1766, which required a mortar made of "two parts lime and one part sand." This is the hardy reverse of modern proportions.

That same contract called for shingles of the best cypress or juniper and three quarters of an inch thick. Shingles were indeed most generally, though not universally, used in roofing. Accustomed as were the colonists to their tiled houses in England, they used little tile roofing here. It was as impractical as to import brick and, speaking of tile-making, one of the old chroniclers said that "in that trade the brickmakers have not the art to do it, it shrinketh." Slate was available in native deposits, but too far inland on the dry frontiers to make practicable the carriage to the river. It is recorded in rare instances that houses were "covered ontop with lead." One such house, Shooter's Hill on the Rappahannock, is reported not only to have had a lead roof "on top of the house" but a "fish pond on it, where a mess of fish might be caught at any time."

Just in proportion to the fineness of his house was the planter punctilious about the setting which he gave it. Nearly all houses were double fronted. The front facing away from the river was the public or approach front. There was no back to the house. The other, overlooking the water, was private, and here the planter built his portico whenever his mansion had one, and the more pretentious was the house if it had one on each front. The view of each façade was unobscured by

William Thornton, Architect.

WOODLAWN MANSION

Overlooking the Potomac at the head of Dogue Creek. This house exemplifies the type of dwelling which drew all the buildings for domestic offices into one architectural unit by means of contiguous walls, enclosed arcades, or connecting walls.

any trees, but at each end of the house rose a frame of green which extended away in groves in both directions.

Box and privet were generously employed in formal hedging, and the landscape scheme of the greater places balanced the kitchen or vegetable garden on one side with the formal or flower garden on the other. In the latter the lady of the manor or the mistress of the mansion devoted herself to beds of larkspur, periwinkles, snapdragons, candytufts, and daffodils. About the walls rose hollyhocks, lilacs, and snowballs, over them hung luscious pendants of wisteria, with lilies of the valley in a damp corner, and, about and beyond, other beds of dame's violet, lady's slipper, heart's ease, cowslip, meadow-sweet, pasque flower, feverfew, groundsel, thrift, spurge, Adam and Eve, yarrow, milfoil, loosestrife, clove pink, daisies, eglantine, jonquils, moss pink, laburnum, windflower and Joseph's lily, dittery and drop wart, monk's hood and innocence; shrubbery tangles banked the far corners; and a part of it all, but more cultivated, was the shadowed green of the intricate low box maze.

In addition to mazes and hedges of box, a conventional use of this handsome hardy shrubbery was to form the inner circumference of the circular drive before the mansion. At Rose Hill, however, it survives in a design unique among all places on the Potomac. Between the house and the long terraces on the south, yet separated from the house by an extensive lawn, is a growth of box six feet high in a design extending along the front for over one hundred and fifty feet. There is a rectangular hedge either side of a broad open sweep of lawn toward the terraces. The long side of each

of these rectangles facing the building, instead of being at right angles with the shorter sides, curves inward until it nearly touches the other long side. The effect from the house is of two supported garlands of massive box. These graceful hedges screen the rose gardens which gave the place its name. One other touch in this carefully wrought design is a small circle of box which interrupts the lawn between the garlands at a point near the top of the terraces.

One of the favourite details in landscapery was the use of the so-called "ha-ha walls" of which there are notable examples at Mount Vernon. These were placed at some distance from the mansion in trenches about three feet deep, the lawn reaching flush with the top of the inner side of the wall and so obscuring it from the house. Inside the encompassing ha-ha walls the lawns were kept cropped by artificial means. Beyond the walls cattle were introduced into the middle distance, yet they were artfully prevented from approaching by the invisible walls which rose sheer from the bottom of the trench.

Another cultivated detail of the grounds about the mansion was the walk of green turf, or possibly of milky oyster-shells, which extended from the great house toward the river, so often with a vista, between converging parallels of dark box hedge, of green banks, sunlit waters, and cloud-flecked skies, all the more picturesque if, as likely, a schooner's wings gave a point of white to the blue horizon. There is a vaster and more original planting of hedges of ancient trees at Mulberry Fields. The house stands on the edge of a plateau about eighty feet above the fields which extend three

quarters of a mile to the shore of the river. The lowlands are bisected by apparently parallel hedges of enormous oaks, cedars, mulberries, and other trees, but in reality the trees are planted in a perspective widening from house to river, creating an illusion which seems to bring the house nearer to the water. This hedged central field has inherited the name of Avenue Field, and it is flanked by Race-track Field and Wood-yard Field.

CHAPTER X

Domestic Life in the "Great House"—Furniture—Furnishings—Shopping in London by Ships from the Landings—Family Portraits—Musical Instruments—Keeping the Fireplaces Flaming in Winter—Lighting Problems—Following London Fashions by the Mail Order System—Meals—Cooking—Strong Drink and Toasts by Candle Light.

DOMESTIC life on the big river plantations was the refinement of the means and the methods of the earliest settlers rather than a scientific advance on anything those settlers knew or had. When the houses were largest and the furnishings most elegant the homes were still lighted by candles, heated by the blazing log in the fireplace, and the cooks performed their miracles on no other altar than the brick hearths of the open kitchen chimneys. Abundance came out of the earth, and direct from bushes and trees, with nature's own freshness instead of with bruised and withered second-handedness from congested markets.

The domestic arts had no literature. Science had not yet eliminated hand power and personal resourcefulness in the individual. Needle-work, cookery, preserving, and other domestic crafts of the loom, the tub, the smoke house, the coops, the gardens, the orchards and the fields were still traditional arts, founded on individual expertness, and transmitted in all their phases as domestic rites from generation to generation of masters and mistresses on the one hand and servants

and "hands" on the other. If the methods were crude they, nevertheless, made artists instead of mere automatons. And the product did not lack in variety, excellence, or a quality which has seldom been obtained since except when the labour-saving methods have been put aside and the elemental personal touch has been reintroduced.

Home life was a school of domestic science for the boys and girls whose fathers and mothers were at once the inventors, operators, and teachers. Yet it did not preclude an active and elegant social life or a public career in which many a planter revealed himself as unsurpassed as philosopher, orator, legislator, and patriot.

The planter's residence was habitually referred to on the place as "the big house" or "the great house." It sometimes justified the adjective only by comparison with the small houses where the overseers and house servants dwelt and with the cabins in the "quarters" of the field slaves or, as they were sometimes called, the "crop negroes." Even on many of the manors of the Maryland shore and on some of the large plantations on the Virginia shore the dwelling house contained only from eight to thirteen rooms. The large houses were the exception. The more important houses even derived their distinction less from the number of rooms than from the large size, the noble proportions, and the exquisite decorations at least of the reception rooms on the first floor.

But the size or importance of a domestic establishment was not always estimated by the number of rooms in the mansion. This frequently was merely a central building and, in the enumeration of its units, excluded

many master bedrooms, the kitchens, pantries, storerooms, laundry, and other domestic offices. Nomini Hall, a mansion of eight rooms, housed one of the richest and most distinguished gentlemen on the river in the eighteenth century, whose family numbered twelve children and whose hospitality was representatively openhanded. Fithian described the house and the disposition of the rooms with nice detail. The "eight" rooms were undoubtedly exclusive of a large central passage forty-four feet long by about fourteen feet wide on the first floor and a similar hall above. Such a hall on the first floor was used usually as a living room except, as it had no fireplace, in the winter months and here the visitors who came to call or, as was more frequently the case, to spend the day, were entertained. The upper hall was used by the mistress and her daughters and the sewing women as a work room. Fithian enumerated the eight rooms at Nomini as follows: "Below is a dining Room where we usually sit [he was writing on March 1 toward the end of winter]; the second is a dining-Room for the Children; the third is Mr. Carter's study; & the fourth is a Ball-Room thirty feet long. Above stairs, one Room is for Mr. & Mrs. Carter; the second is for the young Ladies; and the other two for occasional Company." The boys of the family lived in the bachelors' quarters over the recitation rooms in the School-House "with great Neatness, & Convenience; each one has a bed to himself." But a "neat and convenient" disposal of all the Carter girls in that one upstairs chamber is somewhat of a problem even when it is taken into consideration that each room was about thirty by twenty-two feet.

The domestic life of such an establishment as was found at Nomini Hall, Pecatone, Chantilly, Bushfield, Stratford, Cross Manor, Rose Croft, Porto Bello, Bushwood, Bachelor's Hope, Bedford, Eagle's Nest, Belvoir, Mount Vernon, Warburton Manor, Oxon Hill, Abingdon, and other distinguished estates on both sides of the river, will better typify domestic life on all the river plantations because, though all phases of life on a big plantation were not reflected in each smaller home, the larger contained all the elements found either detached or developed to a less interesting degree in the smaller.

At first the interiors of the houses were rudely plastered and "whitened." Later plaster was applied with a skill and a finish which were as enduring as remarkable. The abundance of wood along the river shores suggested panelling very early, and from appearing first only between the baseboard and the chair-rail, it later supported the rising tiers of stair treads in the great passage, and often walled the entire hall, the drawing room, the dining room, and other rooms "below stairs." A unique feature surviving with much similarity at Mulberry Fields and Belle Air is the panelling in the central hall. That portion of it in Mulberry Fields between the hall and the dining room on one side and the drawing room on the other side, is made of wood nearly two inches thick and it constitutes the entire wall in these places, forming a species of panelled screen. In Belle Air similar panelling was not always permanently in place and is said to have been removed on the occasion of a great party to provide an extensive ballroom for the dancing.

The furniture and furnishings came "out from England." Class for class, and purse for purse, the Potomac house in the eighteenth century seems to have been furnished much like an English house of the same period. No fund of information as to what was to be found in those old houses is more interesting or more reliable than the mentions of chattels in the old inventories and wills. Thomas gleaned references in St. Mary's documents to the parlour bed; trundle bed; the dresser; the chest of drawers; the looking glass; later the pier glass and still later the chimney glass; the silk and worsted bed curtains, which were a convention of cool English life and survived in the warmer climate an extraordinary long time; bolsters with "conuise" ticking and filled with feathers, flock or cat-tail; Dutch linen sheets and napkins; Holland blankets; dimity coverlets; quilted coverlets; Turkish rugs; crickets; stools; chairs, though rare early, naturally enough, for chairs were uncommon even in England until early in the seventeenth century; the harpsichord; the spinet; the "joined" dining table; brass and iron "and-irons"; silver, brass, and iron candlesticks; silver salvers; wooden "dishes"; the "silver sack cup"; sugar tankard; tea tankard; iron knives; silver knives; pewter plates; pewter dishes; pewter spoons; pewter cups and saucers; "Pewter household vessels of almost every description," and he notes that "the reign of pewter in early Maryland was practically unbroken for the first forty years, when silver service made its appearance, and still later, with the introduction of tea and coffee, came china cups and saucers, and soon full sets of porcelain table ware. Occasional references are to be found to the 'sedan chair,' the

'bladen' and the 'horse-hair,' but it curiously appears that neither the fork or the plow are mentioned in the testamentary proceedings of St. Mary's County during the first eighty years of its history."

Although the immigrants brought only the essentials with them, they and their descendants sent to London for other essentials and for all luxuries. There was no adequate shopping point nearer. As a rule the ship that took tobacco from the Potomac landings took also letters to the planters' English agents requesting them to send those articles which gave ease and distinction to the interior of the houses. "Please procure me a Suit of Tapestry hangings for a Room twenty foot long, sixteen foot wide, and nine foot high and half a dozen chairs suitable," wrote William Fitzhugh of Bedford in 1683. Other furnishings asked for, from time to time, were: "two pairs of small Andirons for Chamber Chimneys, one pair of brass ones, with fire shovel and tongs, and one pair of iron ones well glazed; with fire shovel and tongs, also two indifferent large Iron backs for chimney wch. I would have you send me by the first ships"; a "home Shagged Saddle"; "Two Silver Dishes weighing 50 oz. apiece or thereabouts, two Ditto weighing 70 oz. apiece or thereabouts, a Sett of Castors that is to say for Sugar, Pepper and Mustard about 24 or 25 oz., a basin betwixt 40 & 45 oz., a Salver about 30 oz., a ladle about 10 oz., a case containing a dozen silver hafted Knives and a dozen silver hafted forks answerable, what remains if any, let it be laid out in a large Salt and what else you may think convenient"; "I have in this sent you the Coat blazoned wch, I desired you to get fair cut in Steel and for fear of loss again I believe

it would not be much amiss to send me another large one upon an Ivory Stand." He wrote repeatedly for silver and his will in 1790 furnishes a catalogue of an extensive collection. The latter would indicate that land, slaves, and silver were about all that he considered of value.

George Washington, in 1757, nearly two years before he married the future mistress of Mount Vernon and the year before he had even met her, wrote to London for "a Mahogany bedstead with carved and fluted pillars and yellow silk and worsted damask hangings; window curtains to match; six mahogany chairs, with gothic arch backs and seats of yellow silk and worsted damask, an elbow chair, a fine neat mahogany serpentine dressing table, with a mirror and brass trimmings, a pair of fine carved and gilt sconces." Later, in the course of those long "invoices of goods," which it is easy to imagine the new bride and groom enjoyed so much in the making, he sent to London for these items:

"1 Tester Bedstead 7½ feet pitch with fashionable bleu or blue and white curtains to suit a Room laid w yl Ireld. paper.—

"Window curtains of the same for two windows; with either Papier Maché Cornish to them, or Cornish covered with the Cloth.

"1 fine Bed Coverlid to match the Curtains. 4 chair bottoms of the same; that is, as much covering suited to the above furniture as will go over the seats of 4 chairs (which I have by me) in order to make the whole furniture in this Room uniformly handsome and genteel.

"1. Fashionable Sett of Desert Glasses and Stands

for Sweetmeats Jellys &c—together with Wash Glasses and a proper stand for them also.—

"2 Setts of Chamber, or Bed Carpets—Wilton.

"4. Fashinable China Branches & Stands for Candles.

"2 Neat fire Screens—

"50 lbs Spirma Citi Candles—

"6 Carving Knives and Forks—handles of stained Ivory and bound with Silver.

"1 Large neat and Easy Couch for a Passage.

"50 yards of best Floor Matting.—"

In other orders, he asks his agent to send out a marble chimney piece and "a neat landskip" to hang over it; busts of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Charles XII of Sweden, the King of Prussia, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough; "2 Wild Beasts, not to exceed twelve inches in height, nor eighteen in length"; and "Sundry small ornaments for chimney piece." Substitutes in some instances had to be sent. Washington also bought furnishings from the Fairfaxes when they closed Belvoir in 1774 and returned to England, which are indicative of the planters' domestic surroundings:

"1 mahogany shaving desk 4£, 1 settee bed and furniture 13 £, 4 mahogany chairs, 4£, 1 chamber carpet 1£ 1s, 1 oval glass with gilt frame in the 'green room' 4 £ 5s, 1 mahogany chest and drawers in Mrs. Fairfax's chamber 12 £ 10s, 1 mahogany sideboard 12 £ 5s, 1 mahogany cistern and stand 4 £, 1 mahogany voider, a dish tray and knife tray 1 £ 10s; 1 Japan bread tray, 7s, 12 chairs and 3 window curtains from dining room 31 £, 1 looking glass and gilt frame 13 £ 5s, 2 candle

sticks and a bust of Shakespeare 1 £ 6s, 3 floor carpets in gentlemen's room 3 £ 5s, 1 large carpet 11 £, 1 mahogany wash desk, &c., 1 £ 2s 6d; 1 mahogany close stool 1 £ 10s, 2 mattresses 4 £ 10s, 1 pair andirons, tongs, fender and shovel, 3 £ 10s; 1 pair andirons, tongs, fender and shovel, 3 £ 17s 6d; 1 pair dog irons in great kitchen 3 £, 1 hot rache 4 £, 1 roasting fork 2s 6d, 1 plate basket 3s, 1 mahogany spider make tea table 1 £ 11s, 1 screen 10s, 1 carpet 2 £ 15s, 1 pair bellows and brush 11s, 2 window curtains 2 £, 1 large marble mortar 1 £ 1s, 1 hot rache in cellar 1 £ 7s 6d, 2 mahogany card tables 4 £, 1 bed, pair of blankets, 19 coverlets, pillows, bolsters, and 1 mahogany table, 11 £; bottles and pickle pots 14s, 1 dozen mountain wine 1 £ 4s, 4 chariot glasses frames 12s 6d, 12 pewter water plates 1 £."

There was a room known as the Library at Mount Vernon with shelves built into the sides and the books screened by glass doors. More often even the pretentious houses merely had shelves built into the recesses on either side of the chimney of one of the reception rooms, but this was less in evidence than the moveable mahogany bookcases with mullioned glass doors which sat in the passage, or the parlour or the master's study or on the stair landing as was most decorative or convenient. The art of building-in conveniences did not trouble the colonial. A square room with windows, doors, and a fireplace was his entire concern. Closets of any kind were rare. Hence moveable bookcases and china-cabinets and cedar chests and clothes-presses were among the conspicuous furnishings of nearly all houses.

Portraits were much in evidence in the better houses.

Stannard mentions seven of the most extensive collections of portraits of Virginia families, and in his list includes the Carters, the Fitzhughs, and the Lees, all of the Potomac. To these must be added the Washington and Custis portraits, and in Maryland river manors were portraits of the Lords Baltimore and their ladies, of the other Calverts, and of the Neales, Hansons, Smallwoods, Jenifers, and Addisons at least.

If a charitable silence is the best word that can be spoken for some of the survivals in certain galleries of ancestors, it is equally true that the broad panels of many of the river houses were the settings of the work of the better English portrait painters of the period. Some of the immigrants brought family portraits with them. Others sat to artists in their London studios, for the ships that sailed out of the river laden with tobacco sometimes carried along one of the planter himself, or some member of his family, more often one or two of the boys off to school in England, and they took occasion while there to be "drawn" by one of the fashionable "limners." Some of these portraits were the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and there are indications that Sir Godfrey Kneller or Sir Peter Lely accounted for others. Naturally the greater number were painted here in America and of these the best survivals were by Wollaston, Hesselius, reported a pupil of Kneller, Bridges, Peale, and Gilbert Stuart. As old house after old house burned down, however, many of the best of the old portraits and the evidence of their painters disappeared.

From the walls of Mount Airy there looked down upon generation after generation of Calverts an interesting

gallery of family figures. Among these were a first Charles Lord Baltimore, believed by the family to be from Van Dyke's brush; a Benedict Leonard, fourth Baron of Baltimore; the second Charles Lord Baltimore by LeBrun, painted in the year 1715 just after he left college; another of this same Charles as a man of fashion of his pictorial period; and two life-size kit-kat portraits of Benedict Calvert and of Elizabeth Calvert his wife and cousin "well painted in formal style by Wollaston."

When Robert, later Councillor, Carter went to England as a young man he brought home a charming portrait of himself by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The features of Thomas Atwood Digges of Warburton Manor survive in another portrait ascribed to the same master, with more credible evidence of authorship than is to be found in some other portraits, including that of Richard Lee, the Immigrant, referred to as a Sir Peter Lely. The familiar portrait of Martha Washington is the most conspicuous one ascribed to Wollaston. Charles Wilson Peale painted General William Smallwood, John Hanson, and Richard Henry Lee. The list of Gilbert Stuarts includes George Washington, Nellie Custis Lewis, Eliza Custis Law, George Mason of Gunston Hall, Mrs. Charles Lee of Shuter's Hill at Alexandria, Richard Henry Lee and "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. Hesselius, preceptor of Peale, found more subjects on the Maryland shore than across the river where, nevertheless, he is known to have done a George Mason and copied a seventeenth-century portrait of the first of the Fitzhughs. He also executed the familiar portrait of John Hanson, done while he was president of the Conti-

nental Congress. Others of his pictures were no doubt brought to the Potomac when his widow came to be mistress of Oxon Hill as the wife of Walter Dulaney Addison.

It is a tradition on the river that the more prolific painters, among whom Hesselius was counted, travelled with canvases in which the dress and the background were already painted in, presumably by pupils or factotums. The prospective subject made choice of one of the several costumes, the price varying according to the limned richness with which they chose to be adorned. The artist brushed in the face and hands and the job was done, verily "with neatness and dispatch."

When word reached the Potomac in 1766 of the British Lord High Chancellor's (Lord Camden) speech in opposition to the Stamp Act, the citizens of Westmoreland subscribed to a fund in order to employ "the most excellent portrait painter of Great Britain to take a picture of Lord Camden to be placed in the most conspicuous Part of the Court House of Westmoreland." Richard Henry Lee had the correspondence in hand. He suggested Benjamin West, then in London, giving as his reason that "an American deserves the preference in this business." His Lordship agreed to sit for West, but forgot his promise. The incident, therefore, furnishes only the foundation of the story of one of the pictures which did not reach the river. Two years later, however, Edmund Jennings of London sent "the Gentlemen of Westmoreland" a portrait of Lord Chatham, painted by Peale. This canvas arrived and after a migratory existence elsewhere in Virginia eventually reached the Court House where it became a

feature in an extensive collection of portraits of famous sons of Westmoreland.

Musical instruments came slowly into the homes, fiddles first and most universally. But letters and wills tell of harpsichords and spinets by the middle of the eighteenth century. Nomini Hall had in Councillor Carter a master who, according to Fithian, "had a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste; and keeps good Instruments, he has here at Home a Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica, Guitar & German Flutes." The harmonica is described by the Councillor in his notebook as a wonderful new instrument invented by "Mr. B. Franklin of Philadelphia . . . being the musical glasses without water, framed into a complete instrument, capable of thorough bass and never out of tune." The cullings from Fithian's Diary tell more of this curious instrument and of the part played by music in the home life at Nomini: "Evening Mr. Carter spent in playing on the Harmonica; It is the first time I have heard the Instrument. The music is charming. He play'd Water parted from the Sea!—The notes are clear and inexpressably Soft, they swell, and are inexpressibly grand; and either it is because the sounds are new, and therefore please me, or it is the most captivating Instrument I have ever heard. The sounds very much resemble the human voice, and in my opinion they far exceed the swelling Organ." . . . "While we supped Mr. Carter as he often does played on the Forte-Piano. He almost never sups." . . . "When we returned about Candle-Light, we found Mrs. Carter in the yard seeing to the Roosting of her Poultry; and the Colonel in the Parlour tuning his Guitar." . . . "In the

From temporary installation at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

PANELLED ROOM FROM MARMION

MANTEL AND PANELLING

In the drawing room of Mulberry Fields, on the Maryland shore of the lower Potomac.

FIREPLACE AND MANTEL

In the west parlour of the Carlyle house, Alexandria, Virginia.

Evening the Colonel is busy in transposing Music. . . . His main studies are Law and Music, the latter of which appears to be his darling Amusement." . . . "The Colonel at Dinner gave Ben and I a Piece of Music to prepare on our Flutes, in which he is to perform the thorough Bass." . . . "Evening we played in our small Concert our old Sonata, & besides Felton's Gavott; supped at nine." . . . "Evening at coffee the Colonel shew'd me a book of vocal Musick which he has just imported, it is a collection of psalm-Tunes, Hymns and Anthems set in four parts for the Voice; he seems to be much taken with it & says we must learn and perform some of them in their several parts with our voices & with instruments." The catalogue of this gentleman's library included "Malcolm on Music," "Book of Italian Music," "Handels Operas for Flute, 2 vol's," in addition to "17 volumes of Music, by various Authors." General Washington blew the flute while Nellie Custis tinkled the harpsichord. These two instruments are on view at Mount Vernon. Doubtless if other diaries as ingenuous and complete as that of the tutor from Princeton were preserved, echoes of other winter evenings in the old river mansions would have come down to us.

The mental impression of river life is apt to focus on summer exclusively. It is true that along the Potomac of the landings spring comes early, summer is long, and autumn sometimes crowds its mildness on Christmas. But winter claims its toll of cold days and nights, and the only way the colonists met them was with the open fireplace and candle-light. The forests of oak and pine were plentiful, but calculation staggers before the

quantities of kindlers and back-logs required to supply the fireplaces in the great house, the kitchens and laundry and workhouses, and all the other outbuildings, quarters and farms. The ever-informing Fithian noted: "Mr. Carter has a Cart & three pairs of Oxen which every Day bring in four Loads of Wood, Sunday excepted, & yet these very severe Days we have none to spare; And indeed I do not wonder, for in the Great House, School House, Kitchen, &c. there are twenty-Eight steady fires! & most of these are very large!"

When to the glow of the open blazing fire was added the twinkle of the candles, reflected in the dark polished furniture, the silver and crystal and mirrors, the effect must have been contenting beyond comparison. The most popular candles were made at home of the wax of the myrtle, for they gave the clearest light and exhaled an exquisite odour. Myrtle grew everywhere along the river inlets, especially in the swamps at the heads of the creeks, and the myrtle-wax candle was as accessible to the poor as to the rich, though the pioneers got their light from the even simpler pine knot. Candles were also made of deer suet, beeswax and beef-tallow. When candles were ordered from England "sperma ceti" were specified. But neither home production nor importation from England was proof against the easy borrower and the tight lender. Not the least light thrown by this note from the diary of Colonel Carter of Sabine Hall, neighbour and kinsman of the Nomini Carters, is that which it casts on the unchangeableness of human nature: "I can borrow no candles at Beverley's &, if Thompson's purchase from Norfolk don't come up soon, we must be contented to sit in the dark, which I get by

lending candles myself. Mr. Carter of Corotamon, had two boxes containing better than 5 gross. Mr. Parker had some dozen, but these are gentlemen who only think of favours when they want them."

Oil lamps of a primitive kind set in handsome containers were not unknown about the time of the Revolution. Later, in 1787, Richard Henry Lee wrote his cousin in England: "You will very much oblige me by getting for me one of the most improved Modern Lamps of polished Tin, such as Doctor Franklin brought over with him for giving great splendour of light to a Parlour where company sit.—If, in order to use this Lamp, any explanation is necessary, let such explanation accompany it."

No feature of domestic life on the river could have been more exciting than the arrival of the English ships at the plantation landings bearing all manner of goods from the London shops made up from lists carefully compiled with measures and samples sent months and sometimes a whole year before. For clothing the poor depended almost entirely on homespun. The rich planter manufactured some cloth and field shoes for the slaves, but most of the well-to-do Potomac families "Shopped" in London until the Revolution. So many members of the conventions and the congress, in New York and Philadelphia, went thither from both sides of the river that the resources of those towns gradually became familiar and supplied finery during and after the war. But for the better part of two centuries the primitive mail-order system obtained and the "bottoms from England" which brought the furniture and furnishings brought also ribbons and silks and linens and

suits and stockings and shoes and bonnets and cocked hats and gloves and wigs and swords and jewels, in addition to table delicacies, books, toys, tools, and other articles in endless variety.

If the letters of the Maryland planters had been as extensively preserved as those of the Virginians it would no doubt be possible to cite as quaint and interesting instances of Maryland importations as are furnished by the invoices and letters across the river. In the absence of the former, however, the latter may serve as typical of both shores. The Maryland wills indicate the possession as clearly as the Virginia letters indicate the source of similar personal possessions.

Between 1680 and 1698 William Fitzhugh asked for the following, in addition to his plate and other items already noted: "a Riding Camblet Coat . . . two or three couple of rabbits. . . . 3 dozen Gallon Stone Juggs and two dozen two Gallon Stone Juggs. . . . Dutch nails and tacks. . . . 100 lb. of Sundryed Sugar and about 60 or 80 lbs. of powdered Sugar. . . . Linnen, of which let gentish holland be finest except one piece of Kenting and let there be two pieces of white dimity and one piece of coloured . . . two suits of child bed linnen, shoes and stockings. . . . Make me return by the first ship bound out of your parts for Potomack River in Virginia with bills of lading to be delivered to my landing (viz) in Kersey's, Cottons and Bedminsters Cottons, Coarse Canvass, Iron ware and shoes, thread and silk, also a hundred of Gloucestershire cheese and what else you think convenient for this country's use. . . . If you would send me a Shoemaker or two with their tools

and lasts, racks, awles, knives &c with half a hundred of shoemakers thread and about twenty or thirty gallons train oyle, & sound and proper colouring for leather, I have this year set up a Tan house, it would be of great advantage and Convenience to me. . . . S'r, please after you have sold my Tob°, to say the three hh^ds^ stemmed sweet scented, out of the Produce thereof send me two Suits, a winter and Summer Suite, ordinary and Decent, the measures you may guess at, their shoes, stockings and two Carolina hats of the largest size in the head, a handsome quantity of fruit & spice, the remainder in Nails. . . . Pray by the first conveniency of a London ship for this River send me in these things following (viz): 2 quilts, A side saddle, A large Silver Salt, A pair women's gallooned shoes, A table, Pair of stands, Case Drawers & looking Glass Answerable, Two large leather Carpets, Two gall. Florence Oyl. . . . Six three quartered lacken book frames for pictures well burnished. About 40 or 50 shillings worth of colours for painting wt pencils."

There probably was a deal of "guessing at" measurements in London-sent shoes, hats, and suits. However, when Mrs. Lee of Chantilly wanted a new pair of shoes, her husband sent one of her old shoes, by the ship's Captain who carried the order, "to direct the size of the new ones." Washington ordered shoes from Didsbury by "Col. Baylors Last," and wrote: "they fit me tolerably well except that some of them are [if any thing] rather too short" and added "as I imagine you will now be able to suit my foot exactly I beg you will for the future observe the following Directions in making the Shoes.

"Let the hind Quarters always be high & very short so that they may buckle high up on the Instep—the Heels middling high also.

"Never more make any of Dog leather except one pair of Pumps in a Cargoe [which let be very neat] unless you send better Leather than they were made of before—for the two pair of Shoes scarcely lasted me twice as many days & had very fair wearing.—If I should find occasion to alter at any time these Directions you shall be timely advised of it at present please send me—

2 pair strong shoes.	1 pr. dble. Channel Pumps
2 p. neat and fine Do.	1 pr. very neat turned Ditto"

His particularity in the above was influenced somewhat by his youth and his bride. It was written before he was thirty and only a few months after he brought his wife to Mount Vernon. Two years later he complains to Richard Washington, London, of the difficulty in getting clothes that fit him: "I have hitherto had my clothes made by one Charles Lawrence in Old Fish Street. But whether it be the fault of the tailor, or the measure sent, I cant say, but, certain it is, my clothes have never fitted me. I therefore leave the choice of the workman to your care likewise. I enclose a measure, and for a further insight, I dont think it amiss to add, that my stature is six feet; otherwise rather slender than corpulant."

There were frequent exchanges of presents between the planters and the captains of the clipper ships, and in addition to the tobacco for market and credit on account, the ships from the river took back presents for

English relatives and friends. Of course the most prized present was tobacco of particularly choice growth and cure. Indian trappings and bows and arrows and tomahawks gave delight to younger members of the English kin. "I thank you S^r^," wrote William Fitzhugh in 1694 to George Mason Merchant in Bristol, "for your half dozen of Claret, & should have in gratification returned you a hamper of cider, but upon examination found none worth my sending or your acceptance, for want of a Racking at the Spring, the bees having pricked it." Richard Henry Lee wrote his brother Arthur in London: "Mr. Cox has promised to ship a small cask of his best Virginia wine to Dr. Fothergill in Capt. Johnstown, and I expect you will get a rattle snake by the same opportunity." But the reptile was not easily secured for, a year later, he wrote the same brother: "I have been constantly on the lookout for a rattle snake and am now promised by a gentleman above that he will exert himself to get me one against Capt. Grieg's ship sails or Walker's at furtherest. Let me know if you please if it will be agreeable to Lord Shelburne, thet I send him a cask of our finest spirit made from the peach. It is so highly flavorous and partakes so much of the fruit, that I really think 'tis much preferable to the finest Arrack." And in other letters are hints of "three fine Summer ducks for Lady Shelburne, which Capt. Blackwell will bring . . . the two Drakes being exceedingly beautiful"; "two bottles of damask rose water for our sister. . . . The crop of roses was small this Spring, which prevented the distillation so frequently as we would have chosen"; "a dozen bottles of peach brandy are sent. 'Tis of my old stock."

When Richard Henry Lee, John Hanson, William Grayson, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer were in the conventions and in Congress their neighbours and relatives on the river seem to have used their shopping services freely. One of Lee's purchases in New York for his brother William included 300 yards of linen, 70 lbs. of feathers, bed tick, 3 lbs. of shoe thread, and three pounds of strong sewing thread, and another in Philadelphia included 24 Windsor chairs, a box of dry goods and a "Keg of Tea." This number of chairs suggests the hospitable portico parties behind the great columns. Washington ordered thirty Windsor chairs at one time for his "piazza" at Mount Vernon.

Stocks of goods came out from England to Alexandria, Georgetown, and Annapolis, and these towns long before the Revolution supplied modest domestic needs on the river. Among others a Captain Stewart sailed regularly between Alexandria and Philadelphia or, in the terms of the times, "he is stationary Vessel between Alexandria & Phila." and in the latter city his boat "lays at Arch Street Wharf." Where the barons and ladies of the Potomac got their head-dresses nearer home may be guessed from this old advertisement:

"Richard Wagstaffe, Peruke and Lady's tate-maker, and hair-cutter, will soon settle in Annapolis and follow the said business, and will sell his goods at reasonable rates. He also intends to teach reading, writing and accounts; and will take in youths to board and educate at twenty three pounds per year. N. B. He has a few perukes ready made which he will dispose of very cheap, such as Ramillies, Albermarles, and Bobs, &c."

However, there was small promise for Wagstaffe's

prosperity in the observations of an Englishman travelling in tidewater, which appeared in the *London Magazine*, July, 1746, unless the fashions changed: "'Tis an odd sight, that except some of the elevated sort, few Persons wear Perukes, so that you would imagine they were all sick, or going to bed: Common People wear woolen and yarn caps; but the better ones wear White Holland or Cotton: Thus they travel fifty Miles from Home. It may be cooler, for ought I know; but, methinks, 'tis very rediculous."

The day on a river plantation was divided into morning, evening, and night. There was practically no afternoon. That period was eliminated by the meal hours. Breakfast was none too early in the great house and it was an abundant meal. Fish, eggs, or meat might be on the table, but hot breads had to be there, and in variety at the same meal. There were many kinds to choose from. There was always a dish of spoon or batter bread steaming under its light brown crust. To this might be added fried herring roe and a strip of crisp bacon, waffles, Sally Lunn, griddle cakes, Maryland beaten biscuits which were merely "beaten biscuits" on the south side of the river, muffins, corn-bread, hoecake or pone. The traditional and beloved hoe-cake takes its name from the fact that, in pioneer days, and even later in the negro cabins, it was "baked on a hoe before the fire." Coffee and tea both were served at breakfast and, at least in Maryland, it was the custom, when one had sufficient of either, to place the spoon across the cup to indicate one wanted no more.

Plates came back and the platters passed about many times at breakfast for there was a long interval before

dinner. This was not a noon rite as in the North. It happened in the middle of the afternoon, centring as a rule about the hour of three. It was the great meal of the day and when the family rose the sun, especially in winter, was low. Hence the period from dinner time until the family assembled again for supper about eight o'clock or even later was known as "evening," even in summer when the light was strong.

At supper was eaten the best yield of the river, its oysters and crabs and clams; and a choice from the abundant variety of fish which sported about the landing "spiles." On the Catholic Maryland shore the river's catch blessed the abstemious Fridays. Across, in at least one house, Wednesday and Saturday throughout the season were fish days: "always plenty of Rock, perch, crabs, often Sheeps-Head and Trout," and, it goes without saying, shad when in season.

When the hot dishes had disappeared and the glasses had been refilled it was customary in the big house to drink toasts after supper; toasts to sweethearts, to absent ones, to royal highnesses, and to the smouldering Revolution in terms that would echo as treason across the sea. Strong drink accented the sentimentality of some of these toasts and the vehemence of others.

The planters were as a rule hard drinkers from full cellars. The day began often with a julep made of rum, water, and sugar which sustained the planter in a ride around his fields before breakfast, and it was believed to be a preventive of malaria. But no other excuse than hospitality, or the sustenance it gave the body or the cheer it gave to the spirit, was necessary for taking a

glass of wine or beer or punch or other liquor at any time of day.

The foundation of conviviality on the Potomac was brought over in the bottom of the *Ark*. In the Public Record Office, London, are entries as of August 23, 1633, showing that there was delivered aboard the ship "12 pipes of canary wine" and more than one thousand and five "ton" of beer. And thereafter as long as the clipper ships came into the river "pipes of wine" was a familiar entry in the invoices. Persimmon beer, apple cider, cherry bounce, peach brandy, corn whiskey, and a variety of wines from grapes and berries were made on the plantations. The long beans of the honey locust were ground and mixed with honey herbs and water and fermented which made "excellent good Matheglin, a pleasant and strong drink." Governor Berkeley wrote of brewing and drinking in 1720: "The poorer sort brew their own beer with molasses and bran; with Indian corn malted with drying in a stove; with persimmons dried in a cake and baked; with potatoes with the green stalks of Indian corn cut small and bruised, with pompions, with the Jerusalem artichoke which some people plant purposely for that use, but this is least esteemed."

Such were some of the features of the domestic life within the great houses. Therein was used the product of the other houses on the plantation and of the out-of-doors. A glance at the organization and production outside the great house which fed and clothed the family and its slaves carries into another chapter.

CHAPTER XI

Domestic Life Outside the "Great House"—Domestic Offices—The Shore About the Landing—Old Mills—Fences—Fields and Orchards—Labour—Indentured Servants—Sickness, Doctors, Remedies—Legend for a Sundial.

THE formality of the colonial mansion reached out of doors for only a limited radius. Beyond the lawn, the terraces, and the almost architectural environment of exactly related outbuildings and gardens, extended the endless acres of the plantation. Those nearer the river were sure to be cleared first. They were generally on a lower level and were richer in soil. Moreover, the clearing opened to the house the cherished view of the long reaches of the water, sometimes down a cove, sometimes across to the opposite shore of the wide river itself, but frequently, too, from the elbows at the numerous bends the panorama extended both up river and down river as far as the eye could carry to soft melting horizons.

The other or "land" front generally looked out upon the driveway which described a circle before the door. A sundial rose in the centre of the circle, and the outer circumference was edged with oak or chestnut or tulip trees, with an occasional larch, pine, or cedar, or perhaps a holly flaunting its red berries against its dark waxen-green leaves. No matter how far cleared fields spread beyond they were inevitably hedged with forests since forest was the aboriginal state of the Potomac valley.

They stood like walls about a clearing, exclusive and protective, with the mansion and its dependent buildings the only habitation in sight. When the planter stood before his door he saw only his own land as far as he could see, and it gratified his pride for it gave him his coveted sense of self-containment and of domain.

The outbuildings nearer the great house were those related to the domestic life therein, actually detached rooms of the mansion itself. Nearest of all was the kitchen, set apart in order to keep the heat and odour of cooking out of the house, but generally it was partially connected by a covered colonnade through which the procession of slaves bore the dishes of food to the family dining room. The greater kitchens were bounded on one side almost entirely by the open chimney. It was tall enough and broad enough for the fat and façile cook to stand in and move about among the cranes, spits, pots and pot-hooks, kettles, gridirons, spiders, and saucepans of this domestic altar.

Near by was the wash-house reeking with the humidity of steaming tubs; the store-house with its rafters close hung with chestnut smoked hams, sides of bacon, strings of onions and peppers and garlands of strung dried fruit; the smoke-house tight and choking. In another group on the opposite end of the mansion were the school-house, the spinning-house, the shoemaker's house, and the carpenter-shop. Tucked away under the eaves of these buildings were the sleeping rooms of the house-servants, or, in the more pretentious outbuildings of the finer houses, the sleeping rooms of the boys of the family, of the tutor and of bachelor guests.

Beyond these buildings so intimately related to the

domestic life of the interior of the mansion and, as a rule, under the immediate supervision of the mistress thereof, stood the coach-house and stables. There was, however, one of the little domestic temples which refused to be drawn into any arbitrary central plan. That was the dairy house. Nature and not art determined its position, for it was raised over the nearest spring, under the hill as a rule or in the shady depth of a near-by glade. The bubbling waters were caught momentarily in a shallow reservoir in its cool dark floor and therein stood the earthen crocks of butter and cheese and cream-laden milk.

The other buildings rose in independent groups on each of the farms into which the plantations were divided. Mount Vernon's 8,800 acres, for instance, were divided into five farms. On each such division would be barns, an overseer's house, and the group of cabins of the negro slaves known as the "quarters." At the landing on the shore stood the tobacco warehouse, or rolling-house. On the Maryland shore these warehouses were often built of brick; on the Virginia shore of lumber, soon weather worn and gray and tilted by the winds, and picturesque.

Even when there was no ship at the landing there was on the shore evidence enough of the intimacy between the colonists and the river. Near the landing head nearly always an unfinished boat was propped in its ways. Stacks of blanched oars leaned against a convenient low-branched tree. Tar-barrels hugged the bank, and freshly tarred nets, hung with cork on one edge and sinkers on the other so that it might ride perpendicular under the water, strung along from root to

bush to low-swung branch with occasional support from a sapling prop. It was and is no uncommon sight on the river shore to see great skeleton spools twenty or more feet in diameter on which the larger nets were wound.

The greater planters were not fishermen themselves, but they took toll of the water for their food supply, and every small farmer was a natural fisherman or "giller" in the vernacular of the river. Hook and line have played a comparatively small part in Potomac fishing. The fish have nearly always been caught in trap nets or by the gills in the meshes of the gilling nets. Thus the gill has obscured the fish as a root-word in the river vocabulary. A fisherman is a giller; to go fishing is to go gilling; and the fishing boats are usually called gilling skiffs.

One other important building contributed to the domestic economy of the plantations of any size. It was found by paddling along shore to a creek, following the creek to its tributary branch or run, and thence by the meanders of the fresh stream to its location. This was the mill. In the low country near the river's mouth, however, where there was a minimum of natural gravity, the landscape was made picturesque by broad-winged windmills after the Dutch fashion. The most primitive form of milling was to make a mortar by burning out a stump of a tree, and a pestle by hanging a log at the end of a pole. That this was a hard process is attested by the will of Thomas Allen, one of the earliest settlers in St. Mary's, which provided that if his estate were insufficient to support his children and it became necessary for them to go out to work, "they should

not be put to the mortar" or made "mortar boys." William Fitzhugh found the "toll" of his grist-mill "sufficient to find my own family with wheat & Indian corn for our necessitys." Washington had a water grist-mill on Dogue Run Farm at Mount Vernon, and another farther up the river. He made more than sufficient flour for his family and slaves and shipped it in considerable quantity to England.

It is curious to observe how little fencing was required on the Potomac plantations. Nature was here of great assistance. A large percentage of the boundary line was shore. Sometimes when the plantation occupied a neck, as did many on the lower river, and notably Gunston and Belvoir in upper tidewater, only a small fraction of the land abutted other land and had to be fenced off. Each of the two plantations mentioned above contained thousands of acres but each had a water boundary of several miles and a division fence less than a mile long across the head of the peninsula.

The growing crops were protected from the grazing animals by rail or snake fences, but a peninsular estate was sometimes fenced uncommon high across its narrow head, even with a high barrier of palings, to stay the native deer, which were a picturesque and prized feature of the plantation. These wild creatures found their way out, however, and ranged west toward the mountains just ahead of civilization and there the hunter has practically extinguished them. Washington domesticated the remnant of the herd at Mount Vernon and enclosed them on the steep wooded hillside between his house and the river where they became a much-remarked feature of his estate.

MULBERRY FIELDS

Looking across the north lawns to the mansion with glimpses of its east wing and supporting outbuildings

WOODLAWN MANSION

Looking through the doorway in the north wall connecting one of the domestic buildings with the earth wing.

Not all plantations had the economical features of water boundaries by any means. When they lay with one side only to the water, fencing all their extensive acres was often an undertaking too formidable economically or for the planter's complacent temperament. In such cases not only did the deer migrate at once but the horses also were allowed a free, wide range and eventually grew quite wild. Hunting the wild horse was one of the sports of the colonists, and saddle horses were trained to dash through the thick woods at a high rate of speed. William Fitzhugh of Bedford, in sending an inventory of James Ashton's estate over to London, said that it accounted for everything except "his stock of horses which are of low value and could not be brought together." Occasionally the owner of a peninsula would confine horses on his land for a number of neighbours. At stated intervals there was a round-up and the animals were driven into a pen and the new-born colts were branded with the particular marks of the owners of the mares which had given them birth. Notice of the round-up was given at the parish church two weeks in advance "to prevent any secret encroachments." On the Virginia side the proprietor of the Northern Neck maintained an official ranger, the only one in the colony, who seized all unmarked horned cattle or other live-stock roaming at large and appropriated them in the name of his principal. Giles Brent of Marlboro held such a commission.

The Potomac settler, with the English tradition of ripening fruit against artificially heated walls, found the temperate climate of his new home a paradise for fruit. He grew every species except those which thrive only in

the tropics. By the end of the seventeenth century there were 2,500 fruit trees on Bedford alone. The planter revelled not only in every variety but in many species of each. As soon as a new kind of cherry or peach or apple or grape or pear was developed, it was passed proudly on "with compliments," and there was rivalry among the men as to whose cherry made the best bounce and whose peach the best brandy, and among the women as to the merits of berries as well as other fruits for jellies, jams, and preserves. Two "patches" furnished at least one touch of planting which made the whole river world akin. These patches were found in the sandy stretches near the shore and they were sacred to the sweet potato and the watermelon. Blackberries took an aggressive interest in Potomac valley soil and shot forth their tangled brambles in close rivalry to the irrepressible honeysuckle. The wild native fruit, *par excellence*, was the persimmon. There is more than one Persimmon Point on the river, at mention of which the lips pucker, for this delicious fruit is too often picked out of the parched grass before it has been sweetened and mellowed by the autumnal frosts. Another kind of picture is presented by Cherry Field Point, for some names on the river do etch scenes, even Tick Point and its neighbour, Scratch Hill.

One of the dreams of the colonists was the establishment of a silk industry. It runs all through the "Relations," the "present states," the early legislation, and the first letters. The net result is an uncommon number of mulberry trees; two Maryland estates whose names perpetuate the basis of a forlorn hope, Mulberry Grove and Mulberry Fields; and the precious souvenirs made

from the wood of the Old Mulberry Tree which stood for decades on the site of vanished St. Mary's City.

The development and upkeep of large plantations, such as were from the first taken up by the individual colonists, was possible only with a large retinue of labour of all sorts. This element of the population came at first exclusively from England but later from Africa also. Before the black slave was brought into the river valley by purchase, the English servant was brought in by contract or indenture, generally voluntary, which bound his entire time and its product to the planter for a stated period, usually four years. Curiously the Indian, who was so numerous here, seems not to have become a servant or to have laboured in any domestic capacity. The indentured servant was not always a menial. The term included all who came into either colony to do labour, skilled or unskilled, for hire. In the main they came from the labouring and serving class in England; and sometimes vagrants, debtors, and felons were involuntarily sent in this way; but it is also true that men of wealth brought their relatives in as indentured servants.

"In the taking of servants," advised A Relation of Maryland, 1635, for the benefit of the prospective colonist, "he may doe well to furnish himself with as many as he can, of useful and necessary Arts: A carpenter, of all others the most necessary; A Mill-wright, Ship-wright, Boate-wright, Wheele-wright, Brickmaker, Brick-layer, Potter: one that can cleve Lath and Pale, and make Pipe-staves, etc. A Joyner, Cooper, Turner, Sawyer, Smith, Cutler, Leather-dresser, Miller, Fisherman, and Gardiner. These will be of most use; but any

lusty young able man, that is willing to labour and take paines, although he have no particular trade, will be beneficial enough to his Master." There were ill reports in England of how fared the emigrants, but George Alsop, who had himself come to Maryland as an indentured servant, wrote his father: "The Servants of this Province, which are stigmatiz'd for Slaves by the clappermouth jaws of the vulgar in England, live more like Freemen then the most Mechanick Apprentices in London, wanting for nothing that is convenient or necessary and according to their several capacities, are extraordinary well used and respected."

At the expiration of his contract a Maryland "servant" was given "one new hat, one new suit of Kersey or broadcloth, a white linen shift, a pair of French fall shoes, stockings, two hoes, one axe, one gun of twenty shillings value, not above four feet in the barrel nor under three and a half feet." In addition the contract frequently provided that upon its expiration he should be given "one whole yeares provision of corne, and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the country."

In Virginia the freed "servant" received at various times some or all of the following: a tract of at least twenty-five acres, corn for twelve months, a house newly erected, a cow for the value of forty shillings, armour, implements and tools, and two sets of apparel which generally included a suit of Kersey and a suit of cotton, a pair of canvas drawers, one canvas and one lockram shirt, a felt hat and a gun.

These early servants were soon transformed into landholders, farming or practising their trades as freemen. The unskilled field labourers and the house ser-

vants of the most opulent period were recruited from the imported black slaves and their issue. Above them was a stratum of white skilled workmen who came out from time to time at the request of the planters. The available letters furnish many instances of such requests. William Fitzhugh of Bedford wrote Captain Partis: "I would have you bring me a good Housewife. I do not intend or mean to be brought in as the ordinary servants are, but to pay her passage and agree to give her fifty shillings or three pounds a year during the space of five years, upon which terms I suppose good Servants may be had, because they have their passage clear and as much wages as they can have there. I would have a good one or none: I look upon the generality of wenches you usually bring in not worth the keeping." Richard Henry Lee wrote his brother William in London for a ship-builder: "You cannot imagine how much I am hurt for want of a good Ship Joiner who understands something of the House Joiners business—I therefore entreat that you will not cease trying until you furnish me with such a person." At another time "Pray do not forget my Gardener."

When Washington first set up at Mount Vernon as a married man, for the longest continuous period his public life permitted him to stay there, he wrote a friend in Philadelphia to procure him, if any ship with servants be in port, a joiner, a bricklayer, and a gardener. After his return from the Revolutionary campaigns he bought off the brig *Anna*, from Ireland, a shoemaker, Thomas Ryan, and a tailor, Cavan Bowen, "Redemptioners for 3 years service by Indenture." On one occasion two of his indentured servants "went off in a

small yawl, with turpentine sides and bottom, the inside painted with a mixture of tar and red lead," whereupon he advertised for them in the Virginia *Gazette*, with lengthy descriptions and an offer of twenty dollars for the return of either or forty dollars for the return of both of them.

One of the sons of a great Potomac planter sketched the organization of his father's plantation in terms that are not only graphic and complete in themselves but they apply to most of the river estates of relative size in the eighteenth century and, as such, are repeated here:

"It was very much the practice with gentlemen of landed and slave estates . . . so to organize them as to have considerable resources within themselves; to employ and pay but few tradesmen and to buy little or none of the coarse stuffs and material used by them, and this practise became stronger and more general during the long period of the Revolutionary War which in great measure cut off the means of supply from elsewhere. Thus my father had among his slaves carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers and knitters, and even a distiller. His woods furnished timber and plank for the carpenters and coopers, and charcoal for the blacksmith; his cattle killed for his own consumption and for sale supplied skins for the tanners, curriers and shoemakers, and his sheep gave wool and his fields produced cotton and flax for the weavers and spinners, and his orchards fruit for the distiller. His carpenters and sawyers built and kept in repair all the dwelling-houses, barns, stables, ploughs, harrows, gates &c., on the plantations and the outhouses at the home

house. His coopers made the hogsheads the tobacco was prized in and the tight casks to hold the cider and other liquors. The tanners and curriers with the proper vats &c., tanned and dressed the skins as well for upper as for lower leather to the full amount of the consumption of the estate, and the shoemakers made them into shoes for the negroes. A professed shoemaker was hired for three or four months in the year to come and make up the shoes for the white part of the family. The blacksmiths did all the iron work required by the establishment, as making and repairing ploughs, harrows, teeth chains, &c., &c. The spinners, weavers and knitters made all the coarse cloths and stockings used by the negroes, and some of finer texture worn by the white family, nearly all worn by the children of it. The distiller made every fall a good deal of apple, peach and persimmon brandy. The art of distilling from grain was not then among us, and but few public distilleries. All these operations were carried on at the home house, and their results distributed as occasion required to the different plantations. Moreover all the beeves and hogs for consumption or sale were driven up and slaughtered at the proper seasons, and whatever was to be preserved was salted and packed away for after distribution.

"My father kept no steward or clerk about him. He kept his own books and superintended, with the assistance of a trusted slave or two, and occasionally of some of his sons, all the operations at or about the home house above described; except that during the Revolutionary War and when it was necessary to do a great deal in that way to clothe all his slaves, he had

in his service a white man, a weaver of the finer stuffs, to weave himself and superintend the black weavers, and a white woman to superintend the negro spinning-women. To carry on these operations to the extent required, it will be seen that a considerable force was necessary, besides the house servants, who for such a household, a large family and entertaining a great deal of company, must be numerous—and such a force was constantly kept there, independently of any of the plantations, and besides occasional drafts from them of labour for particular occasions."

It is curious how little evidence there is of consideration for the health, not only of the slaves and other servants, but of the planter and his immediate family. Just as there were no bath-rooms in any of the colonial houses, and no other hygienic plumbing, so there is little evidence of the presence of many available doctors or of any other medicine than the "bark" or any other therapeutic process than "blood letting." The first settlers to some degree availed themselves of the Indian remedies and in exchange they performed cures for the natives which astonished them and established confidence and sympathy.

Thomas Glover, who visited tidewater the middle of the seventeenth century and whose observations were published in London, reported: "The Indians being a rude sort of people use no curiosity in preparing their Physick; yet they are not ignorant of the nature and uses of their plants, but they use no correctives to take away the flatuous, nauseous and other bad qualities of them. They either powder, juyce or boil them, till the concoction be very strong.

"Their usual way of cure for most inward distempers is by decoction which they make partly pectoral, partly sudorifick; these they cause the sick to drink, the quantity of half a pint at a time, two or three times a day; but they give nothing to procure vomiting in any distempers, as a bad omen that the diseased will die; neither did I ever know them to use any waies of Blooding or Cupping.

"If they have any Wounds, Ulcers or Fractures, they have the knowledge of curing them. I did once see an Indian whose arm had been broken, and viewing the place, I found the bones to be so smoothly consolidated, and as well reduced, as any English Chirurgion could have done it.

"All Indians carry a Powder about them to cure the bites of Snakes, and in almost every Town this powder hath a different composition, and every composition is certainly effectual to the correcting the malignity of the Venom. Neither is it ever known to us, that any Indian suffered much harm by these bites, but in a daies time he would be as well as if he had never been bitten: Whereas some of the English for want of a speedy remedy have lost their lives."

As the Indian receded and the whites possessed the river some doctors came in, but plantation life scattered the population to such an extent, and land and water travel was so slow, that the few country doctors were not readily available. Remedies were generally homely. Prescriptions passed like cooking recipes. Sometimes they cured. Alsop, always optimistic and incorrigibly Elizabethan, gives evidence of that in a grateful letter to his cousin Ellinor Evins:

"The Antimonial Cup (Dear Cosen) you sent me, I had; and as soon as I received it, I went to work with the Infirmities and Diseases of my body. At the first draught, it made such havock among the several humours that had stolen into my body, that like a Conjurer in a room among a company of little Devils, they no sooner hear him begin to speak high words, but away they pack, and happy is he that can get out first, some up the Chimney, and the rest down stairs, till they are all disperst. So these malignant humours of my body, feeling the operative power, and medicinal virtue of this Cup, were so amazed at their sudden surprizal, (being alwayes before battered only by the weak assaults of some few Emporicks) they stood not long to dispute, but with joynt consent made their retreat. . . . Cosen, For this great kindness of yours, in sending me this medicinal vertue, I return you my thanks: It came in a very good time, when I was dangerously sick, and by the assistance of God it hath perfectly restored me."

Under the primitive conditions the planter and his lady became physician and nurse in a homely sense, some even made a serious study of cures, and it must be believed that, in a large percentage of cases, they provided all the medical attention that family or servants received. They made up for the absence of a physician in the flesh by an old black letter "Family Physician," of that or some other name, dressed in calfskin and full of specifics for every ill. With these meagre resources they ministered to their own family and to their own "people," as the slaves were called, whenever they complained, which in the case of the blacks

was pretty nearly all the time, for the day was not known when a darky would not admit to feeling "porely" or to a misery in some portion of his gnarled anatomy. It is small wonder that the dim dates on the headstones in the old family burying grounds tell a tragic story of high mortality among the young and few instances of old age as it is known to-day. The scriptural threescore years and ten was rare indeed.

On one occasion the yellow fever reached the river, it was in 1774, and Fithian noted: "There is a report that the Jail-Fever, or Yellow or putrid Fever, is at one Mr. Atwel's on Potowmack, in this Country; that it was brought in a Ship which came lately with convict Servants; that two have already died, one this morning; & that many of Mr. Atwels Slaves are infected." This was a unique instance. Decidedly more chronic, though appropriated usually by the gentlemen of the family, was the much handsomer addiction to gout.

An ailment which was indiscriminate in its attack was the inflammation produced by the democratic seed- or wood-tick which flourished, then as now, in rank meadow grass or in forest deadwood. Fanny Carter of Nomini Hall, according to her teacher's diary, was "very much troubled with the festered Bites of Seed Ticks," which next day produced a "fit," and on the third day "confined her in her chamber" and covered her "like a distinct Small Pox." That day at dinner "the conversation at Table was on the Disorders which seem to be growing epidemical, Fevers, Agues, Fluxes. A gloomy train! Fearing these," continues the diarist, "I keep myself at home; make my diet sparing & uniform; Use constant moderate Exercise; Drink as

little Wine as possible, & when I must drink Toasts I never fail to dilute them well with Water; I omit almost every kind of fruit." There is an epigram, heard on the river, "Picnic all day, pick ticks all night." And when called on for a proper legend for a sun-dial, Vaughan Kester, then living and writing at Gunston Hall, offered "Every Second a Tick."

CHAPTER XII

Education on the Potomac—"The Athens of Virginia"—Field Schools—Tutors—Fithian's Routine in a Plantation Schoolroom—Christian's Dancing Classes—The Colonial Girl's Accomplishments—Potomac Boys Sent to English Universities—Libraries in the Mansions—Lending Libraries—Printing and the Periodical Press.

SAILING along from landing to landing, and browsing about from one source of information to another, one is struck by the extraordinary number of finely educated men among the colonials on the river, and by the dense ignorance in the immediate background. Though the evidence of education is found almost exclusively among the owners of large plantations, not by any means were all the rich planters educated. There are numerous old wills in which acres by the thousand were passed and the testator, his finger resting lightly on the quill in the hand of another, signed with "his mark." As already amply witnessed by literally reproduced quotations it was an age of lawless spelling. So it is less surprising than it is amusing to find one testator appointed his loving wife to be his "hole and soul executor."

When in the eighteenth century Westmoreland was referred to as "the Athens of Virginia," it richly deserved the compliment. But in its profusion of cultured men this county was representative of other neighbourhoods on both sides of tidewater Potomac.

Consider the river's contribution to the Continental Congresses alone. Of Maryland's delegates eight (Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, Uriah Forrest, John Hanson, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Thomas Sims Lee, Gustavus Scott, and Thomas Stone) and of Virginia's delegates eleven (William Fitzhugh, William Grayson, Joseph Jones, Arthur Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Henry Lee, Richard Henry Lee, James Mercer, John F. Mercer, James Monroe, and George Washington) were born or lived on the Potomac. John Hanson of Mulberry Grove and Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly were "President of the United States in Congress" when the United States had no other President.

Some of the planters were university men. More of them studied at home under tutors. Others owed their development rather to association than to direct tutelage, but all of them came naturally under the influence of such books and periodicals as were available in the great houses.

In the earliest days there was little organized education. One commentator on colonial education in Maryland said it was "little better than a tramp," and that "the schoolmasters were mainly derived from the class of redemptioners and convict servants, for the most part a disreputable lot of the hedge-priest sort who had more of Latin and Greek than of the humanities or the Ten Commandments." It is probable that the public schools did not thrive on the Maryland shore in those days because the population was principally Catholic and that church has always thrown its influence and support to the parochial school which was much in evidence in this province.

Not until after the capital of Maryland was moved from the Potomac to the mouth of the Severn were any steps taken for the organization of a public school system. Out of a straggling, century-long effort there emerged just before the Revolution one excellent academy, Charlotte Hall, a few miles from the Potomac at the Healing Springs in Charles County. Here, since its establishment, many a young man from the waterside plantations has found the opportunity for a good elementary education. In 1795 the Jesuits opened Georgetown University on the heights at the head of tidewater, and in a century and a quarter it has grown to include neary every branch of education. Without disparagement to this and the several other fine universities in the national capital, an historic sentiment attaches to the St. Mary's Seminary which the state of Maryland endowed to commemorate the spot where "civilization and Christianity were first introduced into our state" and erected on the site of the first colonial capital on St. Mary's River.

Governor William Berkeley of Virginia thanked God in 1671 that there were no free schools in his colony. Efforts were undoubtedly made to do something for the poorer children. It is not surprising to find "Mr. Lee" of Northumberland behind such an effort in 1652, with the approval of the county court. But by far the quaintest evidence of the early efforts to endow learning to be found in the old records is that of John Farneffold, of St. Stephen's Parish in the north end of the same county, who, in 1702, bequeathed "100 acres where I now live for the maintainance of a free school to be called Winchester Schoole for fower

or five poore children belonging to ye parish and to be taught gratis & to have their dyett lodging & washing & when they can read the Bible & write a legible hand to dismiss them & take in more, such as my exors. shall think fitt, and for the benefitt of the said school I give five cows and a Bull, six ewes, and a ram, a cart-horse & cart and two breeding sowes, & that my two mulatto girles Frances and Lucy Murrey have a yeares schooling & be free when they arrive at the age of 22 years to whom I give a sow shoat to each, & for further encouragement of a schoolmaster, I give dyett, lodging & washing & 500 pounds of tobacco and a horse, Bridle & Saddle to ride on during his stay."

Public education on this shore depended on the occasional willing clergyman and the infrequent "field school" to bridge the many decades until Alexandria developed its Academy shortly after the Revolution and the early days of the new century saw the Episcopal Theological Seminary and the Episcopal High School rise west of the same city on the heights overlooking the river through the valley of Great Hunting Creek.

In the absence of any local schools of importance the richer river planters put the education of their children in the hands of tutors. These men were sent out from England or Scotland, some were young ministers in orders, others indentured servants, or they came from one of the northern colonies. If the family was small the tutor often supplemented his work in the schoolroom by keeping accounts for the planter or by acting as his secretary.

One of the first instances of a tutor coming to the

COUNCILLOR ROBERT CARTER OF NOMINI HALL

On the Potomac, Westmoreland County, Virginia. This portrait, from the collection of the late Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, is attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds. The young American, at the time on a visit to England, is represented as costumed for a fancy dress ball with a mask in his hand.

river is found in a letter from Nicholas Haywood, a London grocer, to Nathaniel Pope, in 1652: "Sr I have sent you in Mr Butlers a young man the which I would desire you to take into your house & let him have meate & drinke and lodging & to imploy him in the best imploym^{t} you shall see him capable of I conseave that he will be fitt to teach yo^{r} children for he can write a very good hand sifer very well & is able to keepe yo^{r} acct^{s} if you conseave it meete." Further light is thrown on the employments of the tutor by the will, in 1660, of John Carter, the immigrant, ancestor of the Councillor, of Nomini Hall: "My son Robert, in his minority, is to be well educated for the use of his estate, and he is to have a man or youth servant bought for him that has been brought up in the Latin School, and that he (the servant) shall constantly tend upon him, not only to teach him his books, either in English or Latin, according to his capacity (for my will is that he shall learn both Latin and English and to write) and also to preserve him from harm and doing evil."

Latin was more commonly taught than any other language except English, but William Fitzhugh of Bedford was on the point of sending his son to school in England when he found a French minister, "a sober, learned & discreet Gentleman, whom I persuaded to board and tutor him, which he hath undertaken, in whose family there is nothing but French spoken which by a continual converse, will make him perfect in that tongue & he takes a great deal of pains & care to teach him Latin, both of which go on hitherto very well together." This lad was the future builder of Eagle's Nest.

Upper Westmoreland had an interesting character in one Reverend Archibald Campbell of Campbellton, already referred to, who also taught school there in the middle of the eighteenth century. Archibald and his brother Alexander came out from Scotland together. The latter settled as a merchant in Falmouth. Archibald settled, as a clergyman and teacher, in Westmoreland. When the Revolution approached he cast his lot with his patriot neighbours. Alexander remained a loyalist and returned to Scotland. A few years after his return home, in 1777, his youngest son was born. This was Thomas Campbell the celebrated poet. A brother of the poet came to the tidewater country later and married a daughter of Patrick Henry. The neighbouring family of Colonel Monroe, which included the future president, was taught in 1750 by another Scotsman, the Reverend William Douglas.

When Mrs. Washington's grandchildren, Nellie Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, came to Mount Vernon to live, General Washington engaged a resident tutor for them. The first to come was Gideon Snow, and he was followed by Tobias Lear. They both coupled their duties as tutor with those of secretary to the General, who expressed himself with particularity in regard to the status of a tutor in his family. "He will sit at my table," he wrote, "live as I live, will mix with the company who resort to my house, and will be treated in every respect with civility and proper attention. He will have his washing done in the family, and may have his linen and stockings mended by maids in it." One of the little brick octagon houses in the angle of the old brick wall about

the flower garden at Mount Vernon is pointed out as the school-house where Washington's adopted children said their lessons.

About the same time an Englishman by the name of John Davis was travelling in America and becoming "financially embarassed" in Alexandria, he advertised himself as a teacher, and was employed by a Quaker named Ellicott at Occoquon. "Our agreement was soon made," wrote Davis. "Quakers are men of few words. Friend Ellicott engaged me to educate his children for a quarter of a year. He wanted them taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Delightful task! As to Latin, or French, he considered the study of either language an abuse of time; and very calmly desired me not to say another word about it." Davis wrote a book about his American travels, with much to say about the Potomac neighbourhood.

He had been but three months at Occoquon when he found life boring him and his wandering foot began to "itch him." He resigned his place "to an old drunken Irishman of the name of Burbridge, who was travelling the country on foot in search of an Academy; and whom Friend Ellicott made no scruple to engage, though, when the fellow addressed him, he was so drunk he could with difficulty stand on his legs." To Davis's remonstrance on the score of this man's bibulous character, the Quaker replied: "Friend, of all the schoolmasters I have ever employed, none taught my children to write so good a hand, as a man who was constantly in a state that bordered on intoxication. They learned more of him in one month, than of any other in a quarter. I will make trial of Burbridge."

By far the most intimate and entertaining view of tutoring on the colonial plantation, however, is preserved in the diary of Philip Vickers Fithian, the Princeton graduate who came to Nomini Hall in 1773. It is a mine of information about domestic and social life on the Potomac at that time, but in this place interest must be restricted to his extensive references to the commonplaces of the tutor's and his pupils' routine.

Councillor Carter in seeking for a teacher for his children wrote to the president of "the Jersey College," as Princeton was known in Virginia, his offer of sixty pounds a year, "the best accomodations, a room to study in and the advantage of a library, a horse kept and a servant to wait on you." When the offer was passed to Fithian he accepted, made his way south to Nomini Hall on horseback, and took up his task. The following quotations are taken at random from his diary:

"We began School—The School consists of eight—Two of Mr. Carters Sons—One Nephew—And five daughters—The eldest Son is reading Sallust: Gramatical Exercises, and latin Grammer—The second Son is reading English Grammar & Reading English: The Nephew is Reading and Writing as above: and Ciphering in Reduction—The eldest daughter is reading the Spectator; writing & beginning to Cypher—The second is reading next out of the Spelling-Book—the fourth is Spelling in the beginning of the Spelling-Book—And the last is beginning her letters.

"I dismissed the children this morning til monday on account of Mr. Christian's Dance, which as it goes

through his Scholars in Rotation happens to be here today.

"Busy in School—The eldest Daughter taken off by her teacher in Music: Mr. Stadley who is learning her to play the Forte-piano.

"Rose by Seven—Ben begun his Greek Grammer —Three in the afternoon Mr. Carter returned from Williamsburg. He seems to be agreeable, discreet and sensible—— He informed me more particularly concerning his desire as to the Instruction of his Children.

"Catechised the children and dismissed them about Eleven.

"Busy in School—Mr. Lee gave us his Company in the morning in School, and was very chearful.

"All our Scholars present—Mr. Carter has put into my hands; Tyro's Dictionary, and the pronouncing Dictionary, to improve his sons in Grammar classically, both Latin and English, and he has given me Fenning in Arithmatic.

"Busy in School—I was solicited the other Day at the Race by one Mr. Gorden, to take and instruct two of his Sons; Saturday also I was again solicited by Mr. Fantleroy to take two of his Sons—But I must decline it.

"Busy in School—The weather vastly fine! . . . From the Window, by which I write, I have a broad, a diversified, and an exceedingly beautiful Prospect of the high craggy Banks of the River Nominy! Some of these huge Hills are cover'd thick with Cedar & Pine shrubs; a vast quantity of which seems to be in almost every part of this Province—Others are naked, & when

the Sun Shines look beautiful! At the Distance of about 5 Miles is the River Potowmack over which I can see the smoky Woods of Maryland; at this Window I often stand, and cast my Eyes homeward with peculiar pleasure! Between my window and the potowmack, is Nominy Church, it stands alone on the bank of the River Nominy, in a pleasant agreeable place. M^{r}. Carter's family go down often, so many as can with convenience in a Boat rowed by four Men, and generally arrive as soon as those who ride.

"The River Potowmack opposite to us the People say is 10 miles over, but I think it is not more than 8. Afternoon Captain Grigg, who arrived last Sunday morning into the River Ucomico from London visited M^{r}. Carter.

"Busy in School . . . Today Dined with us M^{rs}. Turberville, & her Daughter Miss Letty, Miss Jenny Corbin, & M^{r}. Blain. We dined at three. The manner here is different from our way of living in Cohansie — In the morning as soon as it is light a Boy knocks at my Door to make a fire; after the Fire is kindled, I rise which now in the winter is commonly by Seven, or a little after. By the time I am drest the Children commonly enter the School-Room which is under the Room I sleep in; I hear them round one lesson, when the Bell rings for eight o-clock (for M^{r}. Carter has a large good Bell of upwards of 60 Lb. which may be heard some miles, and this is always rung at meal Times;) the children then go out; and at half past eight the Bell rings for Breakfast; we then repair to the Dining-Room; after Breakfast, which is generally about half after nine, we go into School,

and sit til twelve, when the Bell rings, & then go out for noon; the dinner-Bell rings commonly about half past two, often at three, but never before two — After dinner is over, which in common, when we have no Company, is about half after three we go into School, and sit till the Bell rings at five, when they seperate til the next morning; I have to myself in the Evening, a neat Chamber, a large Fire, Books, & Candle and my Liberty, either to continue in the School-room, in my own Room, or to sit over at the great House with M^r^. & M^rs^. Carter —— We go into Supper commonly about half past eight or at nine & I usually go to Bed between ten and Eleven.

"We had in School today Miss Betsy, and Miss Matilda Lee [of Stratford, known as the 'Divine Matilda.' She became the wife of General "Light-Horse Harry" Lee.] M^r^. Carter gave me for his Daughter Nancy to Read, the 'Compleat Letter-writer'—also he put into my hands for the use of the School, 'the British-Grammar.'

"I read Pictete, The Spectator, Sallust, History of England, English Grammar, Arithmetic and the Magazines by turns.

"Bob, every day at twelve o-Clock, is down by the River Side with his Gun after Ducks, Gulls, etc. — Ben is on his Horse a Riding, Harry is either in the Kitchen, or at the Blacksmiths, or Carpenters Shop. They all find places of Rendezvous as soon as the Bell rings, and all seem to choose different Spots!

"Rose at Seven. . . . *Bob* & *Nancy* before Breakfast had a quarrel — Bob called Nancy a Lyar; Nancy upbraided Bob, on the other Hand, with being

often flog'd by their Papa; often by the Master in College; that he had stol'n Rum, & had got drunk; & that he used to run away &c — These Reproaches when they were set off with Miss Nancys truely feminine address, so violently exasperated *Bob* that he struck her in his Rage — I was at the time in my Chamber; when I enter'd the Room each began with loud and heavy complaints, I put them off however with sharp admonitions for better Behaviour. The morning was so extremely stormy that I declin'd going to Breakfast —All the others went, my Breakfast was sent over— Immediately after Breakfast Ben came over with a Message from Mr. *Carter*, that he desired me to correct *Bob* severely immediately — *Bob* when I went into School set quiet in the corner, & looked sullen, and patient; I gave some orders to the Children and went to my Room, — I sent for Bob — He came crying — I told him his Father's Message; he confess'd himself guilty— I sent him to call up *Harry* — He came — I talked with them both a long Time recommended Diligence & good Behaviour, but concluded by observing that I was obliged to comply with Mr. Carters request; I sent *Harry* therefore for some Whips — *Bob* and poor I remained trembling in the chamber (for Bob was not more uneasy than I it being the first attempt of the kind I have ever made —The Whips came! — I ordered Bob to strip! — He desired me to whip Him in his hand in Tears — I told him no — He then patiently & with great deliberation took off his Coat and laid it by — I took him by the hand and gave him four or five smart twigs; he cring'd, & bawld & promis'd — I repeated them about eight more, & demanded and got immediately

his solemn promise for peace among the children, & Good Behaviour in general — I then sent him down — He conducts himself through this day with great Humility, & unusual diligence, it will be fine if it continues.

"This morning I put Ben to construe some Greek, he has yet no Testament, I gave him therefore Esops Fables in Greek, and Latin. . . . Ben seem'd scared with his Greek Lesson, he swore, & wished for Homer that he might kick Him, as he had been told Homer invented Greek.

"In the evening I ran a Foot Race with Ben & Harry for Exercise, & a prize of ten Apples to the winner, We ran from the School-House round the stable, & Kitchen & Great House which distance is about 70 Rod —— I came out first about One Rod; but almost wholly spent. . . . At Supper from the conversation I learned that the slaves in this Colony never are married, their Lords thinking them improper Subjects for so valuable an Institution.

"This Evening the negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the Fiddle, & dance — I went among them, Ben, & Harry were of the company—Harry was dancing with his Coat off—I dispersed them however, immediately.

"Before Breakfast Nancy & Fanny had a Fight about a Shoe Brush which they both wanted — Fanny pull'd off her Shoe & threw at Nancy, which missed her and broke a pane of glass of our School-Room, they then entered upon close scratching &c. which methods seem instinctive in women. . . . I made peace, but with many threats.

"I spent the evening with the Family to hear the

music, For every evening Prissy & Nancy play the whole Evening for practice & besides every Week half a Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday.

"After having dismissed the School I went over to M^r^. Carters Study — We conversed on many things, & at length on the College of William & Mary at Williamsburg. He informed me that it is in such confusion at present, and so badly directed, that he cannot send his children with propriety there for Improvment and useful Education — That he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards, and has often seen them drunken in the Street! — That the Charter of the College is vastly Extensive, and the yearly income sufficient to support a University being about 4000£ Sterling.

"At dinner we were conversing on Reading, among many remarks the Colonel observed that, He would bet a Guinea that M^rs^. Carter reads more than the Parson of the parish! No panegyrick on the Gentleman?

"Ben, to Day, began Virgils Georgics — And Prissy began Division.

"I informed the Colonel that I do not think it will be convenient for me to continue with him longer than one year. . . . he honours me, by putting in me so much confidence as to commission me to find out and recommend to Him some young Gentleman to succeed me in the Instruction of his Children. . . . He informed me that he does indeed prefer a Tutor for his Children who has been educated upon the Continent, not on the supposition that such are better Scholars, or that they are of better principles, or of much more agreeable Tempers; but only on account of

pronunciation in the English Language. . . in which he allows young Gentlemen educated in good Schools on the Continent, to excel the Scotch young Gentlemen, & indeed most of the English.

"I corrected Harry this morning for telling me a Lie — Stomachful and sullen as any youth.

"Ben gave Bob for some impudent Language a drubbing this morning.

"At twelve Bob teas'd me for leave to go to a Cock-Fight & Horse-Race about two miles off, I gave him leave with his promiseing to be home by Sun Set.

"I met this morning in Wingates Arithmetic, with the following merry Problem—— 'To discover a Number which anyone shall have in his mind, without requiring him to reveal any part of that or any number whatsoever'—— After anyone has thought upon any number at Pleasure; bid him double it, & to that double bid him add any such even number as you please to assign: Then from the Sum of that Addition let him reject one half, & reserve the other half; lastly, from this half bid him subtract the Number which he first thought upon; then you may bodily tell him what Number remains in his mind after that Subtraction is made, for it will be always half the Number which you assigned him to add—— A Reason for the Rule is added. Because, if to the double of any number (which number for Distinction sake I call the first) a second number be added, the half of the Sum must necessarily consist of the said first number, & half the Second: Therefore, if from the said half sum the first Number be subtracted, the remainder must of necessity be half the second Number which was added——

"You are a mean Puppy, a treacherous ungenerous Scoundrel, says *Bob*, to Harry just as I entered the School after Dinner—you told Mr. *Lowe*, you did more, you published in Mr. Washington's Family that Mr. *Fithian* horsed me for Staying out all night—— That he call'd in John the Waiter to help him—— & that you was sent to cut & bring in Whips——

"Before Breakfast I heard all the School a lesson round Mr. Peck present." John Peck, Princeton, 1774, succeeded Fithian as Tutor at Nomini Hall and afterwards married Ann Tasker Carter, the "Nancy" of the diary.

"I rose by three & left Home by half past four." This was October 20, 1774, a year to a day from the morning he set out on horseback from his New Jersey home.

Fithian gives us informing glimpses of two other teachers who periodically visited the great houses on the Potomac. These were Mr. Stadler, the music master, and Mr. Christian, the dancing master. They each came once a month and remained two days. Christian's rounds included such distant houses as Mount Vernon. Fithian's references to these visits give a quaint picture: November 4, "Today the two eldest daughters and the second Son attended the Dancing School." Friday, December 17: "I dismissed the children this morning til Monday on account of Mr. Christian's Dance. . . . Ben Carter before Noon introduced into my Room, Mr. Billy Booth, a young Gentleman of Fortune, who is one of Mr. Christian's pupils——The two Master Fantleroys came also to see me—— There came to the dance three

Chariots, two Chairs, & a number of Horses." December 18: "After Breakfast, we all retired into the Dancing-Room, & after the Scholars had their lesson singly round Mr. Christian, very politely, requested me to step a *Minuet:* I excused my self, however, but signified my peculiar pleasure in the accuracy of their performance—— There were several Minuets danced with great ease and propriety; after which the whole company joined in country-dances, and it was indeed beautiful to admiration, to see such a number of young persons, set off by dress to the best advantage, moving easily, to the sound of well performed Music, and with perfect regularity, tho' apparently in the utmost disorder—— The Dance continued til two, we dined at half after three—soon after Dinner we repaired to the Dancing-Room again; I observe in the course of the lessons, that Mr. Christian is punctual, and rigid in his discipline, so strict indeed that he struck two of the young Misses for a fault in the course of their performance, even in the presence of the Mother of one of them! And he rebuked one of the young Fellows so highly as to tell him that he must alter his manner, which he had observed through the Course of the Dance, to be insolent, and wanton, or absent himself from the School—— I thought this a sharp reproof to a young Gentleman of seventeen, before a large number of Ladies!——When it grew too dark to dance, the young Gentlemen walked over to my Room, we conversed til half after six; Nothing is now to be heard of in conversation, but the *Balls*, the *Fox-hunts*, and fine *entertainments*, and the *good-fellowship*, which are to be exhibited at the approaching CHRISTMAS."

When the class met at Pecatone, Bushfield, Chantilly, or Stratford, the young people of Nomini Hall packed off in similar fashion to join their friends and cousins from the other great houses. On June 24 Fithian noted: "Today in course Mr. Christians Dance happens here—— He came before Breakfast—Miss Jenny Washington came also, & Miss Priscilla Hale while we were at Breakfast—Miss Washington . . . has but lately had opportunity of Instruction in Dancing, yet she moves with propriety when she dances a *Minuet* & without any *Flirts* or vulgar *Capers* when she dances a *Reel* or *Country Dance* . . . the Company danced after candle-light a Minuet round. Three Country Dances, several Reels, when we were rung to Supper after Supper we set til twelve drinking loyal Toasts."

A colonial girl's education went no farther than the field school or than the private tutor could carry her. During this period her training was slightly more intensive than her brother's, for in addition to her academic studies she was obliged to acquire "accomplishments," which meant music and embroidery at least, and to these she somehow added an acquaintance with domestic values and methods which fitted her to be a good housekeeper. Moreover, a girl married at an earlier age than her brother or than girls of a century later. At the age then that her brother left home for the university, a girl would leave home also, but as a bride to become the mistress of a home of her own.

The first neighbouring university available for the sons of the Potomac planters was William and Mary College at Williamsburg. For its support the inhabitants of Maryland as well as Virginia were taxed a penny

per hogshead on all tobacco exported to England. Hence youths from both sides of the Potomac were among the early students at the Virginia college. Although founded in the last decade of the seventeenth century, it did not rise above the importance of a grammar school for some years. Harvard, to be sure, dated from about 1638, but until the Revolution drew Massachusetts and the Potomac colonies into a common interest, New England was more remote to the southern colonies than old England itself. Virginia and Maryland were bound directly to the old country by ties of consanguinity, tradition, trade, and patriotic loyalty. When the Revolution made it inexpedient as well as unpatriotic for Americans to attend the English universities, the young men of the Potomac discovered the advantages of "the Jersey College" at Princeton and of Columbia College in the City of New York.

Until that time, however, the education of the rich Potomac planters' sons was generally completed in English colleges if in any. The ships carried the boys from their fathers' own landings in the river direct to England. Expenses there were checked against the planters' tobacco credits in London or Bristol. It was, indeed, deemed not more expensive to send a boy to England to complete his schooling than to send him to an American university. Richard Henry Lee wrote in 1772 from Chantilly to his brother in England, on sending his boys thither for university training: "Great reflection, aided by observation, and my own experience, sufficiently convince me, that education is much cheaper obtained in England, than in any part of America, our

College excepted. But there, so little attention is paid either to the learning, or the morals of the boys that I never could bring myself to think of William and Mary."

His neighbour, Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, seemed, however, to set no high value on the effects of English training, for two years before the above he noted in his diary: "I believe everybody begins to laugh at English education; the general importers of it nowadays bring back only a stiff prigishness with as little good manners as possible, especially when the particular cut of a waistcoat, the multi oval trim of a hat or the cap of a buckle does not attract great admiration, but if they do, then the tongue becomes extremely multiloquous upon the learning of the foppishness of the fancy."

A list of the young men from the Potomac who matriculated abroad need not be inaccurate but it is necessarily incomplete. The number includes more from Virginia than from Maryland because the attraction of the English colleges was stronger to thoroughly Protestant Virginia than to partly Catholic Maryland. From the latter colony John Hanson and William Smallwood of Charles County attended English schools, but it is quite natural to discover Edward Brent of Woodstock, son of a prominent Catholic family, descended of Maryland immigrants, matriculated at Douay in Flanders.

Nor is it surprising to find the Lees among the first to send their boys to the English schools. John Lee, whose home after his return from England at least was on the Potomac, was educated at Oxford where he entered Queen's College as a commoner in 1658 and

graduated a Bachelor of Arts in 1662. There is at present at that university a silver cup presented by this Potomac student to his alma mater the year of his matriculation. It bears the arms of the college and of the Lees of Langley and Coton with a Bishop's mitre and pastoral staff on one side and a book and compass on the other side of the following inscription:

COLL. REGI. OXON.
D. D. Johanis Lee Natus in Chipohowasick
Wickacomoco in Virginia America Filius
Primogenitus Richardi Lee Chiliarchae
Oriundi de Morton Regis in Argo Salopiensi
1658

This was the Lee who joined Gerrard, Allerton, and Corbin in building the banqueting hall at the contiguous corners of their lands. His brother Richard, of Mount Pleasant, was also an Oxonian. This Richard's fifth son, Thomas, was the builder of Stratford Hall. Though "with none but a common Virginia education" he seems to have appreciated the value of university training for he sent his sons to English schools; Philip Ludwell Lee studied law in the Inner Temple, London; Richard Henry Lee attended the Wakefield Academy in Yorkshire; and Arthur Lee was sent to Eton and thence to Edinborough where he obtained a diploma "approving him as a general scholar and conferring the degree of M.D."

The first generation of Fitzhughs on the Potomac sent a son abroad to study, the same boy who learned French from the pastor of the Huguenot refugees on the river, as disclosed in this letter of his father's sent

to George Mason of Bristol by the Captain of the *Richard and John:* "S'r, by this comes a large & dear consignment from me, the consignment of a son to your Care & Conduct. . . . To tell you that he is eleven years & a half old, & can hardly read or write a word of English might make you believe that either he was a dull boy or that I had been a very careless & neglectful Parent. Indeed it is neither Carelessness in me nor dullness in him, for although he cannot read or write English, yet he can both read, write & speak French & has run over the rudiments of the Latin grammar, according to the french method, for he has been a considerable time with a most ingenious french Gentleman, a minister who had the Government & tutorage of him, & indeed did it singularly well; but the unhealthy fullness of his seat & the sickliness of the child occasiones his remove from thence. Therefore if it could be as Capt. Jones tells me it may, I would have him put to a french school-master to continue his French & learn Latin. Now Capt. Jones tells me there is such a school or two about three or four miles from Bristol & if it could conveniently be done I would have him boarded at school-master's house . . . & hope within a week after his arrival you will contrive him to his business, whats necessary for him, either for books, cloathes or now & then a little money to buy apples, plums &c., is left solely to yourself & all charges shall be punctually answer'd you & thankfully acknowledged."

Henry Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest matriculated at Christ Church College Oxford in 1722. Though George Washington was thrown on his own resources and

those of the Virginia small schools, his elder half-brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, crossed the Atlantic and studied at Appleby in the Westmoreland for which their native county on the Potomac was named. In 1771 Richard Henry Lee wrote his brother William that his neighbour John Turberville of Pecatone "has committed to your care a very important concern, the direction of his Sons education . . . he chooses his Son be placed either at Eton, at Winchester, or at Westminster"; and the next year he sent him his own two sons to study at St. Bees, at Warrington, in Lancashire, with these injunctions: "I propose Thomas for the Church, and Ludwell for the Bar. About 15 years old Ludwell may be entered of one of the Inns of Court, and actually come there to study law at 18." These boys were in England when the Colonies declared war on the mother country and as the sons of one of the most conspicuous "rebels" their situation gave him poignant concern. "I am exceedingly uneasy about my poor Boys," he wrote his brother Arthur, "I beg of you to get them to me in the quickest and safest manner." They were still in England in 1778.

What must have been the other experiences of colonial boys in England can in the main only be imagined. But it is known that Arthur Lee met Dr. Samuel Johnson on Christmas Eve, 1760, and from him received advice as to where he should study medicine. One of the most graphic sketches of the Doctor outside Boswell's pages is preserved in a letter from Arthur Lee:

"Last night I was in company with Dr. Johnson, author of the English Dictionary. His outward appearance is very droll and uncouth. The too arduous

cultivation of his mind seems to have caused a very great neglect of his body, but for this his friends are rewarded in the enjoyment of a mind most elegantly polished, enlightened and refined; possessed as he is of an inexhaustible fund of remark, a Copious flow of words, expressions strong, nervous, pathetic and exalted, add to this an acquaintance with almost every subject that can be proposed; an intelligent mind cannot fail of receiving the most agreeable information and entertainment in his conversation."

Among the other conspicuous sons of the Potomac: James Monroe studied at William and Mary; "Light-Horse Harry" Lee graduated at Princeton, 1773; Francis Lightfoot Lee of Chantilly graduated at Harvard; John Mercer of Marlboro attended William and Mary; and George Mason of Gunston had only local teachers, but insistence has been placed on the advantage of his intimate association with the "talents and attainments" of Mercer, just as Washington's best educational opportunities were undoubtedly found as a young man in his intimate relationship with Thomas Lord Fairfax, an Oxonian.

Life on the plantations afforded a large margin of leisure which permitted deliberate and thorough reading when the books were available and when the young people were disposed to devote themselves to them. In the greater houses there were some respectable collections of books. They were in Latin and French frequently, and generally they were of a serious nature with a predominance of history, religion, science, and poetry. There was nothing frivolous about those old leather-bound tomes, and their digestion required delib-

eration and concentration, but the effort gave the youthful mind riches in style, ethics, and information which account in part at least for the character of the men who contributed so much vision and initiative in the building of the nation.

It is interesting to find the idea of a circulating library not only existing but in operation on the Potomac as early as 1697. The plan to introduce "Lending Libraries," as they were called, into Maryland and Virginia, originated with Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, vicar of St. Botholph's Church, near Oldgate, England. He appealed eloquently for funds in numerous pamphlets addressed to the gentry and clergy of England, and, in the course of one of them, he said: "Standing libraries will signifie little in the country where persons must ride some miles to look into a book; but lending libraries, which come home to them without charge, may tolerably well supply the vacancies in their own studies till such times as these Lending may be improved into Parochial Libraries." In the list of the books sent out by Dr. Bray it is shown that 314 volumes were sent to St. Mary's, 196 to King and Queen's Parish, 30 to "Porto Batto," 10 to Nanjemoy, 10 to Piscataway, and 26 to William and Mary Parish.

The lending or parochial libraries seem to have been fostered on the Maryland side rather more than on the Virginia side. It is on the latter shore, however, that the private library seems to have flourished. The Mercers of Marlboro are said to have had one of the finest collections of books in the colonies, and to George Mason's access to it has been attributed the fertilizing of that culture which in its ripeness produced the great

document which he wrote at his seat on the shore of the Potomac.

In the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters which are available there are frequent requests to English correspondents to send out books. At first these requests were largely for text-books and dictionaries; then for books on law, especially maritime law, travel and history, the Greek and Latin authors and sermons; and in the late colonial period for the "new" and "frivolous" Tristram Shandy, Yorick's Sentimental Journey, Margaretta a Sentimental Novel, Wycherley's Plays, Gil Blas, Jewish Spy, Turkish Spy, Adventures of a Valet, Molière's Works, Congreve's Works, Tom Jones, Vanbrugh's Plays, Swift's Works and bound-up volumes of the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*.

It is not quite apparent how many books there were at Bedford, but the learned William Fitzhugh evidently had one room which was devoted to them, for in his will he bequeathes his "study of books," and his letters to his English agents carried repeated orders to send him books which he asks for by name. In one letter in 1698 he directed that his agent send him all the statutes passed since the twenty-second year of Charles the Second's reign, the second and third parts of Rushworth's Historical Collections, Dr. Thomas Burnett's Theory of the Earth, the complete works of the author of The Whole Duty of Man, Lord Bacon's Remains, Collin's Abridgment of the Records of the Tower, Buchanan's De Jure, Boyle's Letters to a Friend Concerning Specific Physick, Secret History of Charles II. and James II., Secret History of Whitehall until

the Abdication and the Memorable Actions of King William III.

In the library of Richard Lee of Mount Pleasant there were before 1714 more than three hundred volumes, mostly octavos and in Latin or French. In a list of the library at Nomini Hall were noted 1,143 volumes, of which 89 were folios, 76 quartos, 497 octavos, and 481 duodecimos; in addition to which the Councillor had at Williamsburg "458 volumes, besides Music & Pamphlets." The number of books in the library at Mount Vernon at the time of George Washington's death is shown by the inventory made by the appraisers of his estate to have been about nine hundred. Since his death they have gone to the collection of the Boston Athenæum. The volumes which to-day stand in their stead on the shelves in the Mount Vernon Library are largely duplicates of the originals.

What these old libraries may have lacked in numbers, and it was no simple matter intelligently to select and assemble one thousand books almost entirely from overseа, they supplied not only in the soundness of the text but also in the richness of the volumes. Very few of the books were cheaply put up, and a great number were "vastly large," heavily bound, handsomely tooled, and extensively illustrated.

A printing press was in operation on the shore of the river at St. Mary's at least as early as 1689. Its product, however, was nothing more pretentious than pamphlets and "job work." The river planters enjoyed the sensation of reading domestic news printed in the colony when they began to receive their copies of the Maryland *Gazette*, first printed in 1727 at Annapolis,

and the Virginia *Gazette*, first printed in 1736 at Williamsburg. Both these pioneer journals were published by the same man, one William Parks, who thus seems to have enjoyed the emoluments, such as they may have been, of a tidewater newspaper trust. The development of a periodical press was slow and so unimportant that it cannot be said to have been a significant influence in the education of the young colonials.

CHAPTER XIII

Religious Life—Sunday Scenes about the Riverside Churches—Memorials in the Chancels—Uses of the Bell—Pay of the Clergy—Glebes—Sporting Parsons—Baptisms and Gossips—Weddings—Bringing Home the Bacon—Burials—Tombs and Epitaphs—Mourning Rings.

PASSING from the domestic to the social life on the river plantation there was a middle zone of interest that partook of each and exerted a significant influence on both. The source of that interest was the Church.

When one becomes acquainted with the religious life of the planter it does not reveal itself as quite what the term would seem to suggest. It produced good men and women, with sound ethics, and it was sometimes profoundly devotional, but it was seldom inspirational or controversial. It reached the layman in sealed packages, whether he was a Maryland Catholic or an Episcopalian on the other side of the river. Both Churches had settled their creed and their catechism, doubt could not flourish in either establishment, and if persistently entertained it landed the doubter outside. To be a dissenter was to cut oneself off from the congenial atmosphere of perfect understanding which helped make life so easy and so elegant. There was an early sprinkling of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists along the river, but they were spoken of and written of with "Christian forbearance" merely as

"very worthy people." These sects made few inroads in upper social circles. Politically their churches were outside the pale, socially their exhortations seem to have been disturbing to quiet orderly taste, and dogmatically they were regarded as having substituted doubt or "heresy" for a settled, seasoned, comfortable establishment.

In Maryland the Protestants and Catholics lived in comparative social amity. Politically there was a contest for existence which developed into a contest for control and which subsided only when the Catholics and Puritans were submerged in England. The influence of that English status reached straight across the ocean to the Potomac. Before the beginning of the eighteenth century the Episcopal Church became the state Church of Maryland as it had been from the beginning of colonization in Virginia, and it was a picturesque and delightful element in the life along the river until the American Revolution knocked the political props from under it by repudiating any state-supported church and any church in any way controlled from London.

During the long colonial period of the ascendency of the Establishment, the religious life of the planter was in the main fixed and quiet, quiet as the river on a still comfortable summer afternoon. The Church settled into the easy routine of life without losing its influence, and its members might be said to have sailed their little social and political ships over its waters much as they sailed their realer ships over the realer waters of the river. The richer and more influential men organized themselves into a congenial little close corporation in

the vestry, which became the social directory of the neighbourhood. The clergy frequently came direct from England freshly ordained at the hands of the Bishop of London and often became sincere, devout spiritual powers in their parishes, but, with genuine human fallibility, they with unfortunate frequency turned out to be so devoted to cards, the race-track, and the bowl that perspective has grouped them and labelled them the "sporting parsons." Attendance at divine service was notably general and the gatherings took on a quaint social character as will presently be seen. Baptism and marriage were given the sanctity of a sacrament, and the burial of the dead was conducted with devotional simplicity.

Church attendance on the Maryland side of the river was enforced by the Catholics in their own way. It was a matter of moral discipline. To miss mass was to sin. The offender punished himself. On the Virginia side failure to attend service on the Sabbath was made a civil misdemeanour and the state punished the offender. This shore was settled too late for the delinquent to come under the Governor and Council's proclamation of 1616 that every person must go to church on Sundays and holy days or "lye neck and heels in the guard house all night and be a slave to the colony for a week." The enforcement of that measure was short lived. Later a shilling was the penalty for missing service, but eventually the parish church became the social centre of its neighbourhood on Sunday and the real penalty suffered by the absentees was to miss the gossip, the fashions, and that social intercourse so precious to those who live in vast country neighbour-

hoods. Some discipline did survive, however, and the absentees might also have missed the spectacle of a certain man and his wife "standing upon stools in the middle alley, wrapped in white sheets and holding white wands in their hands, all the time of divine service"; or of a penitent who, sentenced to take her punishment in church, "during the exhortation delivered unto her to be sorry for her foul crime [which was not specified] did, like a most obstinate and graceless person, rend and mangle the sheet in which she did penance"; or of two immoral partners who were ordered "to stand forth in white sheets in the parish church" and beg for forgiveness and prayers; for though these actual occurrences were not reported of river churches the jurisdiction of the discipline which produced them included the Potomac parishes.

An English traveller in the two colonies bordering tidewater Potomac wrote in the *London Magazine* of July, 1746, that the colonists "have so much value for the Saddle, that rather than walk to church five miles, they'll go eight to catch their Horses, and ride there; so that you would think their Churches look'd like the Out-Skirts of a Country Horse Fair; but then, as some Excuse, it may be said, that their Churches are often very distant from their Habitations." Davis, who tutored at Occoquon, rode one Sunday as far as Pohick Church and, from his observations there, he noted that "A *Virginian* church-yard on a Sunday, resembles rather a race ground than a sepulchral-ground: the ladies come to it in carriages, and the men after dismounting from their horses make them fast to the trees. But the steeples to the *Virginian* churches were designed

not for utility, but for ornament; for the bell is always suspended to a tree a few yards from the church."

Fithian in a letter from Nomini Hall to a friend at Princeton gave these three grand divisions to the time spent at church on Sunday: "Before Service, giving & receiving letters of business, reading Advertisements, consulting about the price of Tobacco, Grain, &c. & settling either the lineage, Age, or qualities of favourite Horses. 2. In the Church at Service, prayers read over in haste, a Sermon seldom under & never over twenty minutes, but always made up of sound morality, or deep studied Metaphysicks. 3. After Service is over three quarters of an hour spent in strolling round the Church among the Crowd, in which time you will be invited by several different Gentlemen home with them to dinner." In his diary soon after reaching the river and attending Nomini Church he noted "an advertisement at the Church door dated Sunday Decembr. 12th. Pork to be sold tomorrow at 20/ per Hundred" and added "It is not the custom for Gentlemen to go into Church til Service is beginning, when they enter in a Body, in the same manner as they come out; I have known the Clerk to come out and call them in to prayers."

It must have been no uncommon sight to see the bigwigs gather at the parish church on a Sunday morning, the excitement culminating at Yeocomico or Nomini when Councillor Carter, the Turbervilles and Corbins and Lees and Washingtons rolled up in their great coaches; at St. Paul's when the Fitzhughs foregathered from half a dozen of their Chotank seats; at Pohick when the Mount Vernon coach deposited

George Washington and his lady, the Custis children and their guests, for Washington always held two adjacent pews here so as to accommodate his house guests; at St. John's on Broad Creek when the Addisons of Oxon Hill and the lordly Digges of Warburton Manor arrived; and at each of the other river churches as its own particular great families rolled upon the scene in their coaches-and-four, gay in the latest billowy finery, an ostentatious coachman making the most of a spectacular opportunity to dash up in a cloud of dust and brake to a sudden stop in circling nicely before the church door. It is reported of "King" Carter, father of Robert of Nomini, that none dared enter the church before him. When he descended from his coach and strode into the empty edifice the entire congregation followed.

These aristocrats were not averse to using the church to perpetuate their grandeur. Hancock Lee of Ditchley Hall is not the only one whose only monument is found among the old silver communion services. They had their precedents set by the sovereigns themselves who sent engraved communion plate to several colonial parish churches. At Wycomico Church in Northumberland the tankard bore the inscription: "The gift of Bartholomew Shriver, who died in 1720, and of Bartholomew his son, who died in 1727, for the use of the parish of Great Wycomico, in the county of Northumberland, in 1730." The plate was inscribed: "The gift of Reynard Delafiae to Quantico Church." The cup, as has been seen, was inscribed in memory of Hancock Lee. In 1838 Bishop Meade found the Bible and Prayer Book of Yeocomico Church inscribed with the

name of "J. Rogers, of New York." The plate of St. Paul's in King George County consisted of "one large silver can, a silver chalice and bread plate" and on each was the inscription: "Given by Henry Fitzhugh, of Stafford County, Gent., for the use of your church." George Washington's maternal ancestors attended St. Mary's White Chapel and Lancaster discovered that the communion table "once had a cover of green velvet with gold fringe and in the centre the Ball coat-of-arms heavily embossed in gold." Under the communion table in Aquia Church is a marble slab inscribed: "In memory of the Race of the House of Moncure."

The bell in the tree near the church to call the laggards to their knees was not the only bell used in at least one of the old churches. It seems that when the old high-backed pews had nested their covies there was a disposition to nod, especially when the collection was being taken up. On the collection bag at the end of the reaching rod one ingenious churchman hung a small bell which he tinkled under the wheezing noses of the drowsy ones. Vigorous and repeated jingling of this little bell made a nodder uncomfortably conspicuous.

Another curious use of a bell, and at a time of day devoted normally to divine worship, is still found on the banks of the Potomac. It is the device of the Sunday fisherman who spurns the labour of holding a pole. Plunging a vagrant umbrella rib in the bank he ties his line to it and attaches a small bell to the tip. A biting fish will pull the line and the yielding rod will tinkle the bell. An enterprising angler sometimes fishes several lines with a different-toned bell on each rod.

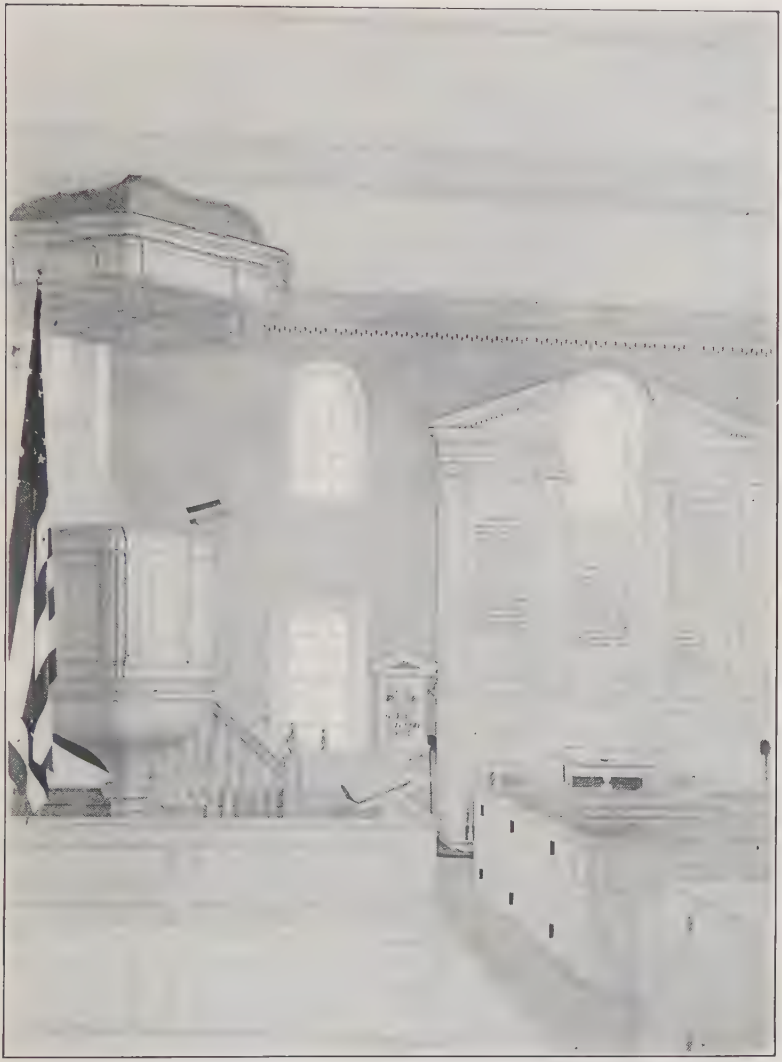
Until the middle of the seventeenth century a familiar figure at a Virginia church door on a Sunday morning was the county sheriff. The law requiring attendance at divine worship was of great assistance to him, it rounded up the planters and small farmers from remote corners and enabled him with a minimum of effort to serve writs, warrants, summons, executions, and similar official papers. This practical method disturbed the planter who did not fancy official intrusion on a purely social occasion. So, in 1658, he passed a law prohibiting the service of official papers on the Sabbath, at the parish church or elsewhere, and the sheriff was sent off on his web of trails the other six days to do as well as he might.

A few of the river churches affected ecclesiastical architecture, but many of them were mere rectangular buildings, frequently handsomely built and trimmed, with two tiers of windows, sans bell, belfry, or steeple. The pulpit was raised on a high support, but it had need to be for the panelling about the old square pews rose above all but the high heads, and the preacher would not otherwise have been seen, nor could he have seen, and there was a powerful inducement to "shut-eye" in the drone of certain clerical voices. These same pews were privately owned and descended in the same family from generation to generation, like the family seat and seal. When the floor of the church was covered with pews the need for more room was met by hanging galleries. These, however, were usually placed at the disposal of the slaves.

The payment of the clergy in so unstable a currency as tobacco put certain parishes at a disadvantage, for

CHRIST CHURCH, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

This edifice dates back to 1773. After the Revolution General Washington maintained a pew here in addition to his two pews at Pohick Church nearer Mount Vernon, and he frequently worshipped at Christ Church, driving up from Mount Vernon with Mrs. Washington and her grandchildren in the great coach.



Pohick Church

Here George Washington was a vestryman and worshipped continuously until the Revolution. Until the end of his life he maintained two pews here for the family and guests from Mount Vernon. They may be seen before the chancel, the last two on the right of the aisle leading past the pulpit.

the ministers went with the preferments. A parish which raised poor tobacco seldom got a good preacher. Indeed, as it was reported, "some parishes are long vacant upon Account of the Badness of the Tobacco." In the earlier days of the colonies ministers on the south side of the Potomac participated in the further generosity of the Governor and Council who ordered that in addition to their tobacco wage they should receive "the 20th calfe, the 20th kidd of goates, and the 20th pigge." At the same time a legal schedule of fees for clerical functions was arranged by which the minister was allowed "for Marriage" two shillings; "for churchinge" one shilling; "for Buryinge" one shilling; but "for Christeninge" no shilling. Fees, however, were April weather for uncertainty. The legal marriage fee climbed in 1696 to twenty shillings, but this for some reason shrank to five shillings if the ceremony was preceded by the publication of banns; doubtless to put a premium on the banns. An old vestry book of St. Stephen's Parish in Northumberland shows that in 1723 Rev. John Bell was charged "for eight sermons at 450 pounds of tobacco a-piece", and 1724 "Rev. Mr. Lecharcey, for two sermons, 600 pounds tobacco." The natural inquiry is whether Mr. Bell was a better preacher or a shrewder bargainer than Mr. Lecharcey, or was the price variation due merely to the advantage given the vestry when it bought sermons on a wholesale basis?

Though the clergy were paid in tobacco and collected petty perquisites on the side in shilling driblets, they had in most cases additional support from the glebe lands. There the rector at least made his home,

and two ancient and interesting survivals of glebe houses on the river are that on Glebe Creek, Lower Machodac River, so named from the only name the old house appears ever to have known, and that of modernly known St. Woodley's on the south hills of the Wicomico, Maryland. In some cases the glebe lands increased under pious bequests. If the accumulation grew extensive then those acres not used by the rector were leased for his support. But this suggests a richer endowment than appears in most cases to have really existed.

In reality, the men of the cloth were poorly paid. Some turned to farming and some to teaching to eke out a meagre living in the valley of plenty. At any time when the ferryman abandoned his post on Potomac Creek the work was taken up by the Rev. John Waugh, first minister of Aquia Church, for a consideration. But this dominie was shrewd as well as ordained, and a motive other than need may have driven him to pendulating between the creek's banks, for he is known to have died rich.

In a sport-loving, hard-drinking age and neighbourhood, many a gay and bibulous dominie appeared. They were the so-called sporting parsons already referred to. They owed spiritual responsibility to no superior nearer than the Bishop of London and were secure in their glebes, so that it was hard to discipline them. Of Reverend Mr. Kemp and Reverend Mr. Moscrope, who officiated in Dumfries and Pohick in those days of a wobbly Establishment succeeding the Revolution, Bishop Meade said: "In order to conceal the shame of the clergy from the younger ones, and to

prevent their loss of attachment to religion and the Church, the elder ones had sometimes to hurry them away to bed or take them away from the presence of these ministers when indulging freely in intoxicating cups." These two worthies were rich in ancestors in kind. In "Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-land," John Hammond wrote in 1656, speaking of the answer to Virginia's call for clergy: "Very few of good conversation would adventure thither (as thinking it a place wherein surely the fear of God was not) yet many came, such as wore Black Coats, and could babble in a Pulpit, roare in a Tavern, exact from their Parishoners, and rather, by their dissolutenesse destroy then feed their Flocks." But he hastens to add that their condition improved.

In Maryland the Governor was obliged in 1714 to make this complaint to the Bishop of London: "There are some Rectors in Maryland whose education and morals are a scandal to their profession, and I am amazed how such illiterate men came to be in Holy Orders." This was one of several complaints sent to His Lordship of London, who had also to listen to this description of a Maryland dominie from one of the better type of rectors: "An Irish vagrant, who has strolled from place to place on this continent, now in the army, now school-teaching, now keeping a public house, now marrying, and presently abandoning his wife, always in debt, always drunk, always absconding, he is yet, without any change of heart or manners, inducted into holy orders, and sent to this province, where he is drunk in the pulpit, and behaving otherwise

so disgracefully that finally he flees of his own free will." The extravagances of the few doubtless coloured the impression of the many and conditions altered materially for the better with the introduction of the domestic bishops on this side of the Atlantic.

Less scandalous but not less trying to the sense of ecclesiastical propriety was shrewd and harmless Parson Weems of Dumfries with his peripatetic gig, book-pack, and fiddle; and the eccentricity of poor Mr. O'Neill of Pohick who was such a favourite with Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington of Mount Vernon. It is said that he always spent his Christmas at Mount Vernon and invariably appeared in a full suit of velvet which had belonged to General Washington. But the amusing feature of the situation arose from the fact that the clothes fashioned for the well-proportioned figure of the General sat with absurd effect on the abnormally long body and short legs of the Reverend Mr. O'Neill.

A baptism in colonial days seems to have been an "extraordinary occasion," transcending even the trial of a man accused of hanging a witch. There is John Washington's word for this, written from Westmoreland to Governor Fendall of Maryland. It seems that Mr. Washington had made these accusations against one Captain Edward Prescott, but when the day for trial was set and word was sent across the river from St. Mary's City that the trial would be held "ye 4th or 5th of October" and requesting the accusant to appear, he replied on Sept. 30, 1659: "*Hounble Sir* Yours of the 29th instant this day received. I am sorry, yet my extraordinary occasions will not permit me to be at ye next Provincial Court to be held in Maryland ye 4 of

this next month. Because then, God willing, I intend to git my young sonne baptized, all ye company and gossips being all ready invited." To this he coolly added that if Prescott be bound over to the next session of the court "I will doe what lyeth in my power to get then over."

The court must wait on the "gossips"? The word was not used, however, in the modern sense. By "gossips" Mr. Washington meant the sponsors in baptism for his young son. This casual John Washington was the immigrant ancestor of George Washington, and Captain Prescott was skipper of *The Sarah Artch*, in which ship this first Washington came to America, and on that voyage into the Potomac he alleges the hanging of the witch took place.

The first Potomac weddings took place in church in the morning between the hours of eight and twelve. In Maryland this was the result of the usual Catholic custom of celebrating a union with a nuptial mass. In Virginia it was required by an act of the Assembly. Later, when the colonies spread and the distances to a church increased, the home wedding almost entirely eclipsed the church wedding in Protestant families. Either a license or the publication of the banns, by the minister in church or by notice on the court-house door, was required before the ceremony might be performed in Virginia. Apparently there was not the same requirement, or at least equal strictness in enforcing it, in Maryland, for spread on the Entry Book of the Colony of Virginia for the session of October 20, 1673, is a request for the Governor to appoint a committee to consult with the neighbouring Governor at St. Mary's

with a view to adopting some measure which would make it illegal for Catholic priests and Protestant ministers to marry young couples who had crossed the Potomac to effect clandestine marriages.

Just as the distance from the church fostered the home wedding it was likewise the distances between the plantations which extended the weddings in river houses to lengthy social occasions. When a family had sailed or driven all day, with the prospect of an equally long trip home, special entertainment was expected and it seems to have been provided. The accompaniment of the ceremony was a bountiful supper with abundance of wine and liquor, florid toasts and eloquent replies, all followed with a dance which usually settled into an endurance contest of youthful energies.

It is recalled by Mrs. Richardson that the term "bringing home the bacon" or "losing the bacon", common to the Potomac, attaches the probable ancestry of some of the families there to Staffordshire in England. There the Lord of Whichenovre hung a flitch of bacon in the hall of his manor house and any man or woman might come to him and claim it after a year and a day of united married life. The occasion was one of much ceremony; for the ancient terms state that: "At the day assigned all such as owe services to the bacon shall be ready at the gate of the Manor of Whichenovre, from the sun rising to noon, attending and waiting for the coming of him who fetcheth the bacon, and when he is come there shall be chaplets delivered to him and his fellows and all those who desire to do service due to the bacon. And they shall lead the demandant with

trumps and tabors and other manner of minstrelsy to the hall door, where he shall find the Lord of Whichenovre or his steward ready to deliver the bacon."

Now the Lord of Whichenovre must have been skeptical of the solidity of matrimonial unions or they were actually less permanent in old Staffordshire than they were on the Potomac, for here on the river divorces were almost unknown and widowhood or widowerhood was no sooner on than it was off again. Both churches frowned on divorce. William Fitzhugh of Bedford knew of but one case in the entire Virginia colony. His letter, written in 1681 to "Mr. Kenline Chisildine, Attorney General of Maryland" at St. Mary's, is pertinent to the method of separation as well as the fact: "Sr: The cruelty of M^{r}. Blackstone towards my sister in Law is grown so notorious and cruel that there is no possibility of keeping it any longer private, with the preservation of her life his cruelty having already occasioned her to make two or three attempts to destroy herself which if not timely prevented will inevitably follow, therefore Sir in Relation of my Affinity to her as also at the Instance and Request of M^{r}. Newton to propose some remedy I think there is some means to be used for a separation because of his continued cruelty which in England is practical; here in Virginia it is a rare case, of which nature I have known but one which was between M^{rs}. Brent and her husband M^{r}. Giles Brent, the case thus managed; She petitions the Government and Council Setting forth his inhuman usage upon which petitions the Court orders her to live seperate from him, and he to allow her a maintainance according to his Quality and Estate. . . . It

cannot properly be called a Divorce but a Separation rather." There is a contemporary flavour to this in spite of the interval of two hundred and sixty-odd years. There was, indeed, a less ordered and conventional method of separation, but it was practised by a less-conventional social order than that which embraced the Brents, Fitzhughs, Blackistones, and their kind. Maltreated wives of poor planters, or such wives who tired of one husband or coveted another, simply ran away. It has been found that advertisements for runaway wives seemed almost as common in southern newspapers as for runaway slaves.

As the Church blessed the babe and the bride, so the divine office was always read above the dead. The people of small or moderate means were buried in the churchyard, but an established family had its private burying ground near the great house on its own estate. The Washingtons of Mount Vernon were buried in a family tomb, but this is a rare instance of such elegance. As a rule the interments were in the earth itself. Many elegant memorials were reared above the dead. Sometimes a solid slab of stone or marble lay a man's length on the ground and recited the virtues of the deceased in a litany of fine phrases. A more ornamental device was to raise such a stone, table-wise, on six stone supports. Such is the marking of the grave of William Hebb at Porto Bello. The marble sarcophagus set upon the ground, its top chiselled with name and dates and virtues, was a still finer example of interment and monument combined. Anne Mason was buried in such a sarcophagus by her worshipful husband, George of Gunston Hall, who, however, lies in

the earth at her side with only a commonplace modern headstone to mark the grave of one of America's profoundest thinkers. The burying ground at Rose Hill stood at the foot of the terraces or "falls", and here still stands the sarcophagus of good Dr. Gustavus Brown. An admirable restoration has been made of the burying ground at Bushfield, and many of the broken and crumbling stones of the Bushrods and Washingtons have been set up again in an orderly fashion under the shade of the locusts which had threatened to obliterate them.

What an epitaph maker would do when he gave himself rein is unbelievable without evidence. One of the most complete survivals of the florid epitaph is that placed above Lettice Fitzhugh Turberville by her husband, Captain George of Hickory Hill near Nomini, who evidently believed in leaving nothing unsaid:

"From a Child she knew the Scriptures which made her wise unto Salvation: From her Infancy she Learned to walk in the Paths of Virtue. She was Beautiful But not Vain: Witty but not Talkativ: Her Religion was Pure Fervent Cheerful and of the Church of England: Her Virtue Steadfast Easy Natural: Her Mind had that mixture of Nobleness and Gentleness As Made Her Lovely in the Eyes of all People: She was Marryed to Capt. George Turberville, May 16th, 1727. The best of Wives Made him the Happiest of Husbands. She died the 10th of Feb. 1732, in the 25th Year of Her Age and 6th of her Marriage. Who can express the Grief. Soon did she compleat her Perfection, Soon did She finish her Course of Life. Early was She exempted from the Miseries of Human Life by God's particular

Grace. Thus Doth He Deal with his Particular Favorites.

> All that was good in Woman Kind
> A Beauteous Form More Lovely Mind
> Lies buryed under Neath this Stone
> Who Living Was Excelled by None."

Councillor Carter was a neighbour of the Turbervilles. He was familiar with this and similar epitaphs. One winter evening, when the children had retired and the talk turned "on serious matters", he observed that he "would have no splendid nor magnificent monument, nor even stone to say '*Hic Jacet*'. He told us", according to Fithian, who with Mrs. Carter was the only other present, "he proposes to make his own Coffin & use it for a chest til its proper use shall be required—That no Stone, nor Inscription be put over him— And that he would choose to be laid under a shady Tree where he might be undisturbed & sleep in peace & obscurity.—He told us, that with his own hands he planted, and is with great diligence raising a *Catalpa*-Tree at the head of his Father who lies in his Garden." Whereupon Mrs. Carter "beg'd that she might have a Stone, with this only for a monument, 'Here lies Ann Tasker Carter'."

There is a nice tradition associated with the grave of General Smallwood on Mattawoman Creek near the ruins of the old house which was this Revolutionary hero's home. Patriots have marked the spot with a monument, but above the grave rises also a fine old walnut tree. It is said that when the General was buried in 1792 one of the gentlemen at the open grave

pulled out the wooden peg which marked its head and into the hole slipped a walnut. The ancient tree which shades the spot to-day is credited as the growth from that planting.

Some notion of the cost of a funeral in the old days on the river may be inferred from the bill for the burial of the Rev. Moses Tabb, Rector of St. George's, Poplar Hill, who is buried in the shadow of Christ Church, Chaptico, since it has been preserved:

	the Decm[r] 8 1776
M[r] Bond	Dr
To M[r] Moses Tabs buriel	
To the Minister	6 : 0
Clerk	4 : 6
Ground	15 : 0
Grave Digging	6 : 6
Invitation	10 : 0
bell	3 : 0
Watchman	8 : 0
Pall	1— 0—0

Recv'd of M[r] W[m] Bond the above in full

p[r] Jacob Diegel,
Sexton of Christ Church.

Burials like weddings drew attendance from distant plantations, and the entertainment provided was not limited to the hospitality which sustains without cheering and stimulating. A funeral was often made a notable social occasion during which great quantities of liquor were provided and consumed. Naturally a funeral often took character from the directions in the will of the deceased. Thomas Lee of Stratford specified: "Having observed much indecent mirth at Funerals, I desire that Last Piece of Human Vanity be Omitted, and that attended only by some of those friends and

Relatives that are near, my Body may be silently interred with only the Church Ceremony, and that a Funeral sermon for Instruction to the living be preached at the Parish Church near Stratford on any other Day." Lawrence Washington of Westmoreland in 1698 also directed "a sermon at the Church" but he limited the total expenditure for his funeral to "three hundred pounds of tobacco." Hancock Lee of Prince George's County, Maryland, in 1752 directed, perhaps in protest against ostentatious funerals on his side of the river, that his body "be decently buried without pomp or show and in the presence of a few friends only."

Old Dick Cole of Salisbury Park, the braggart who swore valiantly against the Governor and dictated himself in his epitaph "a grievous Sinner, That died a Little before Dinner," went so far as to set out in his will how every one present at his funeral was to be decorated. The minister and pall-bearers were directed to wear gloves and "a love scarf"; whereas the others who stood by his grave were to wear "gloves and ribbons." As the mourning was at his expense, he thus assured that he should be mourned. The same old Westmoreland Records which attest the above preserve this curious request of Hannah Bushrod Washington of Bushfield, sister-in-law of the General and mother of Justice Bushrod Washington of Mount Vernon, which she apologetically set out in her will:

"In the name of God, Amen. I Hannah Washington of Bushfield in the Parish of Cople and County of Westmoreland, being sound in mind though weak in body and health make this my last Will and Testament. I am very conscious of my great inability in drawing up

any instrument of writing yet as none except my dearest friends will be at all concerned about it, I trust that they will make every allowance for the defects which they may meet with here. . . . The cruel custom in this country of hurrying a poor creature into a coffin as soon as the managers of the business (who are generally indeed people quite indifferent about the deceased or the most ignorant) suppose them dead; the friends at that awful moment quit the room and leave their dear friend to the discretion of these creatures who tired of setting up and confinement have them hurried into the coffin. No physician in the world can possibly tell whether or not a person is dead until putrefaction takes place and many have most assuredly been hurr'd away before they were dead. As I have a most horrid idea of such usage I most earnestly entreat my friends to act with me in the following manner, and that when it is thought I am dead that I remain in my bed quite undisturbed in every respect, my face to be uncovered not even the thinnest thing to be laid over it also I do request that not one thing shall be attempted about washing and dressing me. No laying out as it is called I beg. I therefore most earnestly pray that I may be allowed to remain in my bed just as I did whilst living until putrefaction by every known sign justifies my being put into the coffin."

The frank and frightened Hannah of Bushfield appears again, in the will of her celebrated brother-in-law, in an item which illustrates a pleasant custom which obtained among river families. In the absence of any other more fitting memento, a testator some-

times left a bequest to buy a mourning ring for a relative or friend. In particularly sentimental cases the ring was made up with a lock of the testator's hair set under glass. General Washington bequeathed: "To my sister-in-law Hannah Washington and Mildred Washington;—— To my friends Eleanor Stuart; Hannah Washington of Fairfield and Elizabeth Washington of Hayfield, I give each a mourning ring of the value of one hundred dollars—— These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as *mementos* of my esteem and regard."

CHAPTER XIV

Social Life—Based on Home and a Big Family—Hospitality—Dinner Parties—A Call and Spending the Day—The Grand Tour—Old-Time Games—House Parties—Holidays—Sports—Fox Hunting—Horse Racing—Jockey Clubs—Race Tracks in Potomac Fields—Boat Races—Boxing Matches—The Winter Season at the Colonial Capitals.

THE foundation of colonial social life on the river was the plantation home. The distances between plantations put a premium on family life. A large family was a social necessity. The number of a planter's children nearly always reached two figures if the number of his wives did not. "Single blessedness" did not achieve its reputation in those days. Men married young. Neither a widow nor a widower retained that title long, hence it indicated a permanency much less often than a transition stage. Men took four and five successive wives. Women took second, third, fourth, and fifth successors to their first husband.

The plantation house was ideal for entertaining with its large reception rooms, its long central hall, and in some cases its ball-room as at Nomini Hall, its banquet room as at Mount Vernon, or as at Belle Air in Prince William County its removable panelling which threw much of the first floor into one large room. The system of slavery obviated any vexing servant problem. The disposition of the people was fun-loving, generous, and hospitable.

If the social life rested fundamentally on the home and if the large family furnished a self-sufficient social unit, the home and family were anything but unhospitable. They gave welcome to everyone from the casual caller who came merely to spend the day to the poor relation whose visit stretched through a lifetime, the traveller who was unknown almost as often as introduced, and the troop of neighbours and cousins who came by horse, coach, or boat to balls, house-warmings, house parties, and other great gatherings.

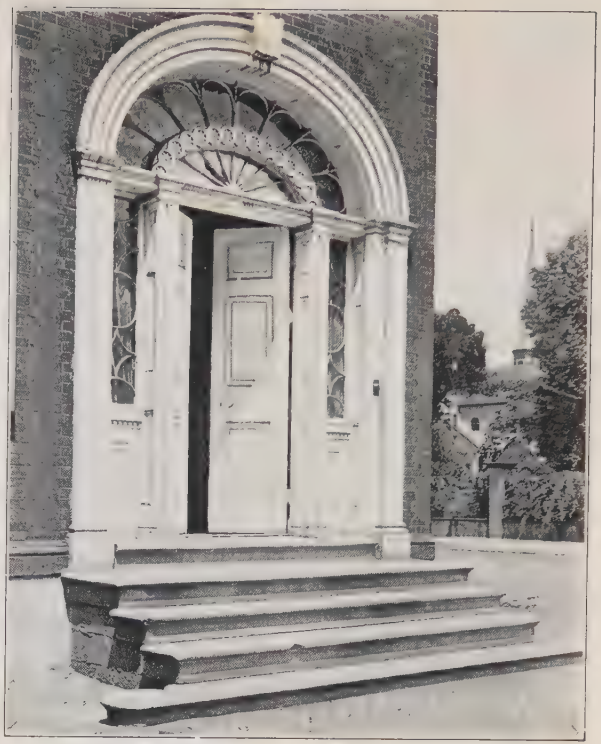
This spirit of hospitality hovered over both sides of the river. Because the private homes were always open to travellers the ordinaries were few, and such as there were did a scant business in lodging. Of the four bedrooms maintained inside the great house at Nomini the family occupied but two and the other two were reserved for guests, all the boys of the family were permanently banished to sleeping quarters in detached buildings near by. Although many a planter complained that hospitality was driving him to bankruptcy, his welcome never wavered. Washington compared Mount Vernon to "a well resorted tavern." But a hospitable planter would abandon a conspicuous home and build in a remote spot rather than close his door.

Essentially characteristic of river life was the exchange of visits between the planter and the captains of the clipper ships which came to his landing direct from oversea. He depended on these skippers for more than commercial contact with the world; he anticipated their coming as he would a journal, for the briny gossips from England brought all the latest news

MANTUA

THE WEST DOORWAY OF THE CARLYLE HOUSE

Alexandria, Virginia. Within may be seen the delicate curve of the stairway to the floor above.



DOORWAY OF THE OLD HOUSE IN ALEXANDRIA

Where the Marquis de La Fayette stopped on his second visit to America.

from the Exchange, the Parliament, the Court, and the London taverns, all that was newest in politics and scandal and every variety of small talk. A dinner "on board" usually featured the stay of a ship at the landing and sometimes the skipper would come ashore for a party. One such social soul was Captain Grigg "out of London." On one occasion he ventured to a ball at Stratford Hall, but Miss Prissey Carter, with whom he stepped a minuet, said that "he wobbled most dolefully, & that the whole Assembly laughed." Miss Prissey was confirmed in this some nine years later when Captain Grigg, still sailing into the Potomac and still fancying himself a dancer, drew this from one of the Lee girls visiting the Turbervilles at Pecatone at the time: "We had the addition of two more gentlemen to-night. A Dr. Harrington — a handsome man, I think—and an elderly Gentleman, Captain Grigg; the most laughable creature I ever saw. They tell me I shall be highly diverted at the minuet he dances; and we intend to make him dance one to-night." . . . "I don't think I ever laugh't so much in my life as I did last night at Captain Grigg's minuet. I wish you could see him. It is really the most ludicrous thing I ever saw; and what makes it more so is, he thinks he dances a most delightful one."

Glad as the families were to welcome the sea captains for their budgets of gossip and their presents of spirits from Jamaica and Scotland, it was often a great relief to see the wake of their ships. While the skipper made himself welcome in the great house the crews made themselves troublesome everywhere else, trespassing, committing petty thievery, flirting with the

women about the plantation, and quarrelling with the men.

There seems always to have been room enough for another at table and plenty in the platters for the unexpected guests. The arrival of a solitary traveller was a mere trifle. A coachful even is nowhere commented on as a hardship, and it must not be overlooked that the planter travelled with a retinue of servants—often coachman, postilion, groom, body servant, and for the ladies a maid. In the intimate knowledge of what they could expect in similar circumstances it was no unusual thing for a group of merry gentlemen to assemble at one house and, in the excess of their enjoyment of its hospitality, to gather up their host and ride off with him "for a party" at another great house, repeating thereafter while the company grew. One day the Carters of Nomini Hall went over to dine with neighbour George Turberville of Hickory Hill. It was no exceptional occasion. "We had an elegant dinner," says Fithian, "but it did not in anything exceed what is every day at M^{r}. *Carters* Table." Yet on this occasion thirteen sat at table in addition to the host's usual family. To be cared for outside the great house were the horses and "seven waiting men with the carriages." Sunday was generally the occasion for improvised dinner parties and, before and after service at the parish church, the planters went about coralling a numerous company.

The size of these casual repeated dinner parties, and the presumed preparation and expense entailed give pause, until it is remembered that another social and

economic order obtained in those far-away days. Slaves were abundant for every trifling service; the flour and meal for the long list of hot breads were ground at the home mill; wines and spirits were brewed by the planter from fruit and grain raised on his own acres; the home dairy yielded butter, milk, and cheese; the pens and pastures and chicken yards were full of toothsome domestic animals; the woods were alive with game; and the river held a never-failing supply of oysters, crabs, and all manner of other shell and finny delicacies.

It is hard to distinguish at this distance between a call and a visit and "spending the day." One Sunday at Nomini Church, Parson Smith, who also officiated at Yeocomico, invited Mr. Fithian to "call some day this week." On Monday, according to the diary, this is what happened: "At Breakfast M^rs^ Carter gave me an Invitation to wait on her to parson Smiths M^r^ Carter offered me his riding Horse, a beautiful grey, young, lively Colt; We sat out about ten, M^rs^ Carter, Miss Prissey, Miss Fanny, & Miss Betsy, in the Chariot; Bob and I were on Horseback; M^rs^ Carter had three waiting Men: a Coachman, Driver & Postilion. We found the way muddy; got there a little after twelve; M^r^ Smith was out; I was introduced by M^rs^ Carter to M^rs^ Smith, and a young Lady her Sister who lives with them; at Dinner I was at M^r^ Smiths request to 'say Grace' as they call it; which is always express'd by the people in the following words, 'God bless us in what we are to receive'—& after Dinner, 'God made us thankful for his mercies.—— As we were sitting down to table Bob Carter rode up; when we had dined, the Ladies retired, leaving us a Bottle of Wine, & a Bowl of Toddy

for companions. . . . We returned in the Evening." An apparently unexpected party of six, with a retinue of three servants, "call" on the parson's wife and stay to dinner! The Smiths lived at the Glebe about five miles from Nomini Hall. They were accounted in those days and parts as very near neighbours.

If that was a call perhaps a visit was understood to be the somewhat lengthier stay of Major John Lee of Orange County, a distant cousin of the Lees on the river. He spent only eight or ten weeks a year at his own house in the Piedmont. In the early fall he would set out, accompanied by his "Waiting Man," and live off his friends until summer came again. He was well known in the great houses on the Potomac where he came, squatted, and moved on impulses directed by social ethics all his own—or, perhaps, shared by others who practised a hospitality which seemed to be test-proof.

Another kind of visitor, of whom also there doubtless were legion, survives in a curious and charming old journal, written soon after the Revolution by little Miss Lucinda Lee. She describes a "tour," for her friend Polly Brent, who carried it across the Potomac into Maryland when she married and settled there. It is unconscious and breezy as any romantic romping girl off for a round of visits to the homes of her cousins and their cousins. Little Miss Lee starts her Journal at The Wilderness, the residence of John Grymes, who married Miss Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest. Then she reached the Potomac at Bellevue, Colonel Thomas Ludwell Lee's seat on Potomac Creek; and successively visited Richard Henry Lee's family at Chantilly,

other Lee cousins at Stratford Hall, the Turbervilles at Pecatone, and the Washingtons at Blenheim and Bushfield.

Here are some random cullings which picture a social "tour" of the new country: "A Mr. Spotswood and his Lady are come to dine here." . . . "Today we return Mrs. Spotswood's visit. I have to crape my hair which of all things is the most disagreable" . . . "I have spent this morning in reading *Lady Julia Mandeville* and was much affected. Indeed, I think I never cried more in my life reading a Novel: the stile is beautiful, but the tale is horrid." . . . "Today we return Mrs. Grime's visit. I am going to wear my straw dress and my large hat; sister wears A blue habit, with a white Sattin scirt." . . . "We have supped, and the gentlemen are not returned yet. Lucy and myself are in a peck of troubles for fear they should return drunk. Sister has had our beds moved in her room. Just as we were undress'd and going to bed, the Gentlemen arrived, and we had to scamper. Both tipsy!" . . . "Brother was worsted by the frolic yesterday, we did not set off today." . . . "I am arrived at *Belleview*, a good deal fatigued, where we found Mr. Bushrod Washington and his lady, on their way down. Mr. Phil Fitzhugh is likewise here. He said at supper, he was engaged to dance with one of the Miss Brents at a Ball at Dumfries." . . . "Mrs. Graem, Letty Ball and Harry G—— called here today. . . . When Mrs. Graem came today, some one came running in and said the *Richland* chariot was coming. How disappointed I was!" . . . "Today is Sunday, and I am going to church.

Brother Aylett is going in the chariot with me. I am this moment going to crape and dress. . . . Mrs. Brook, Mrs. Selder and Nancy were all at church. They were very civil to me and prest me to dine at *Selvington.* Mr. James Gordon is come to dinner from *Chatham.* Mrs. Fitzhugh has sent me a very pressing invitation to go there this evening and tomorrow to the races." . . ."The gentlemen are set off to the races and I am preparing to set off to *Chantilly.*" . . . "I have arrived at *Chantilly.* Mrs. Pinkard is here. Cousin Nancy and myself are just returned from taking an airing in the chariot. We went to *Stratford:* Walked in the Garden sat about two hours under a butifull shade tree, and eat as many figs as we could. We brought to *Chantilly* Col° H. Lee's little Boy. He has stayed at *Stratford* since his Papa and Mama went to New York." . . . "Mr. Pinkard and a Mr. Lee came here today from the Fredericksburg races. How sorry I was to hear 'Republican' was beaten." . . . "Well, my dear, we arrived late last night at *Pecatone.* We all dined at Dr. Thompson's together. Mrs. Washington and Milly called there in the evening on their way to *Bushfield.* . . . I don't think you ever saw Cousin Turberville or Hannah. Hannah was dressed in a lead courlered habbit, open, with a lylack lutestring scirt. She had a butifull crape cushion on, ornamented with gauze and flowers. . . . We spent last evening very agreably. Danced till Eleven. This is a beautiful situation—the Garden extends from the House to the river (very much like *Retirement.*") . . . "The old man being sick that

plays the Fidle, we have diverted ourselves playing *grind the bottle* and *hide the thimble.*" . . . "To-day is disagreable and rainy. The young Ladys have been showing us the wedding cloaths and some dresses they had from London; very genteel and pretty." . . . "There are several gentlemen to dine here. Mr. Thomson has invited this family and ourselves to drink tea with him this evening. He has had a New Cargo of tea arrived. . . . Today we went to Mr. Thomson's, returned and danced at night. Mr. Turberville and Mr. Beal each made us all a present of a pound of Powder." . . . "We were entertained last night in the usual way—dancing." . . . "To-day we dine at *Lee* Hall—that is at the Squire's. Tomorrow we dine at *Bushfield*, with the *Pecatone* family." . . . "When we got here [Bushfield] we found the House pretty full . . . I must tell you of our frolic after we went in our room. We took it into our heads we want to eat; well we had a large dish of bacon and beef, after that a bowl of Sago and cream; and after that, an apple pye. While we were eating the apple pye in bed—God bless you! making a great noise—in came Mr. Washington, dressed in Hannah's short gown and peticoat, and seazed me and kissed me thirty times, in spite of all the resistance I could make, and then Cousin Molly. Hannah soon followed, dress'd in his Coat. After this we took it into our heads we want oysters. We got up, put on our rappers, and went down to the Seller to get them: do you think Mr. Washington did not follow us and scear us just to death. We got up tho, and eat our oysters. We slept in the old Lady's

room too, and she sat laughing fit to kill herself at us. She is a charming old lady." . . . "Today, Corbin and Hannah go to *Blenheim*, the seat of Mr. W. Washington. Harriot is going with them. Tomorrow Mrs. Pinkard, Nancy and myself go to *Blenheim*. All the *Bushfield* family are there." . . . "We are now at *Blenheim*. There came this evening a major More Fauntleroy. We have had a hearty laugh at him; he is a Monstrous Simpleton; and likewise came this evening the hopefull Youth—— A. Spotswood."

They canter about from house to house, returning to Chantilly and Bushfield, and finally adding Berry Hill, Menokin, and Marmion to the list. It may be of interest to know what became of these boys and girls mentioned so intimately in this Journal. The "Mr. Washington" of the midnight frolic was Corbin, nephew of the General and father of the John Augustine Washington who inherited Mount Vernon from Justice Bushrod Washington. The "Col° H. Lee" whose little boy was brought in the chariot from Stratford to Chantilly was "Light-Horse Harry" Lee of the Revolution and the "little boy" was the half-brother of General Robert E. Lee of the Confederacy. Nancy, Harriet, and Hannah were the daughters of Richard Henry Lee, the Signer. The delightful "old lady" was Mrs. Turberville of Pecatone, and Harriet Lee married her son.

To the games of "Grind the Bottle" and "Hide the Thimble," which they played at Pecatone, may be added other diversions of these colonial and early republican young people. "Churmany" and "Fox in the Warner" were two favourites. "Button," doubtless the antecedent of the modern Button-

Button, was played "to get Pauns for Redemption." When this was played on a certain evening at Nomini, Fithian added in his diary: "In the course of redeeming my Pauns I had several kisses of the Ladies!" The same evening, "so soon as we rose from Supper, the Company formed in a semi-circle round the fire, & M^r Lee, by the voice of the Company was chosen *Pope*, and M^r Carter, M^r Christian, M^rs Carter, M^rs Lee, and the rest of the company appointed Friars, in the Play call'd 'break the Pope's neck'—— Here we had great Diversion in the respective Judgements upon offenders." A game of such character and with such a title was unlikely, however, to have been universally popular across the river in Catholic Maryland.

Dancing was not always confined to candle light nor was a ball restricted always to a single day or night. Sometimes it lasted "four or five days." There is record of such a one given by Squire Lee at Lee Hall. Some of the guests stayed continuously forming a house party, others stayed a night at a time, went home and returned for successive nights' dancing. Fithian tells of the Carter family's participations: Monday, January 17, 1774: "At Breakfast the Colonel gave orders to the Boys concerning their conduct this Day, & through the Course of the Ball—— He allows them to go: to stay all this Night; to bring him an Account of all the Company at the Ball; & to return tomorrow Evening—— All the morning is spent in Dressing—— M^rs *Carter*, Miss *Prissy* & *Nancy* dressed splendidly set away from Home at two." Tuesday, January 18: "M^rs *Carter*, & the young Ladies came Home last night from the Ball, &

brought with them M^rs *Lane*, they tell us there were upwards of Seventy at the Ball; Col. *Harry Lee* from Dumfries, & his son *Harry* who was with me at College, were also there; M^rs Carter made this an argument, and it was a strong one indeed, that today I must dress & go with her to the Ball. . . . We set out from M^r Carters at two; M^rs Carter & the young Ladies in the Chariot, M^rs Lane in a Chair, & myself on Horseback—— As soon as I handed the Ladies out, I was saluted by Parson Smith; I was introduced into a small Room where a number of Gentlemen were playing Cards to lay off my Boots Riding-Coat &c.—— Dinner came in at half after four. The Ladies dined first, when some Good Order was preserved; when they rose, each nimblest Fellow dined first. The dinner was as elegant as could well be expected when so great an Assembly were to be kept for so long a time.—— For Drink, there were several sorts of Wine, good Lemon Punch, Toddy, Cyder, Porter, &c.—— About Seven the Ladies & Gentlemen begun to dance in the Ball-Room—first Minuets one round; Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of all Country Dances; tho they struck several Marches occasionally—The music was a French-Horn and two Violins—The Ladies were Dressed Gay, and splendid, & when dancing, their Skirts & Brocades rustled and trailed behind them!—— But all did not join in the Dance for there were parties in Rooms made up, some at Cards; some drinking for Pleasure; some toasting the Sons of america; some singing 'Liberty Songs' as they call'd them, in which six, eight, ten or more would put their Heads near together and roar, & for the most part unharmonious

as an affronted—— At Eleven Mrs Carter called upon me to go." Wednesday, January 19: "*Bob, Ben* & *Harry* are yet at the Dance. Mrs Carter declined going to Day. Bob came home about six, but so sleepy he is actually stupified!" Thursday January 20: "Ben came Home late last Night—— This morning he looks fatigued out. We began to study to Day but all seem sleepy and dull." Friday January 21: "All seem tolerably recruited this morning; we hear, the company left the Ball last Evening quite wearied out; tho' the Colonel intreated them to stay the proposed Time."

There were not many holidays in the early river life. Such as they were had their foundation in religious sentiment. The principal social activity attached to Christmas. At Nomini the family was awakened "by guns fired all around the house." The yule log seems to have been in evidence in Maryland. It was the custom to place a new back log in one of the great fireplaces on Christmas morning and as long as it burned the slaves had holiday, being required to perform only the necessary small chores. In spite of the doleful complaint of the darkies assisting in placing the huge log in the fireplace that "we shorely won't have much of a holiday this year, for dat log is dry as timber," frequently it was more than suspected that it had been in soak in the nearest swamp for weeks before.

The planter was an eager sportsman and handled a gun as expertly as he handled a rein. He had only to leave his front door to find game. The Potomac has since its discovery been celebrated as a happy hunting ground for ducks. Three hundred years seem not to

have appreciably depleted the black clouds of these birds which in the cooler months settle on its waters. On shore he gunned for the almost equally abundant partridge, wild pigeon, wild turkey, and wild quail. These feathered game he hunted for meat. Of the "varmints" the 'possum was hunted for his meat but the 'coon for his hide.

The ceremonial hunt of the swells, however, was that in pursuit of the fox. The chase for Sir Reynard drew upon the planter's thoroughbred stable for trained fox-hunting horses, and it required a special breed of dogs which he fancied he possessed, but it brought the gentlemen of the neighbourhood together and made an occasion for good dinners, bowls of toddy, songs and stories, and evenings of incomparable cheer before the blazing fireplace in the great house. The most significant information on fox-hunting in the Potomac Valley is found in General Washington's papers, and it shows that all his life at Mount Vernon this was a winter sport which engaged the interest and the time of the gentlemen from the neighbourhood of the Falls to far below Mount Vernon with occasional additions to their parties from the manors across the river. Washington's diary indicates that he went fox-hunting fifteen times during January and February, 1769.

Characteristic of many planters' young sons were these brief, vagrant sketches of Bob Carter, son of the Councillor: "He is slovenly, clumsey, very fond of Shooting, of Dogs, of Horses," "It is a custom with our Bob whenever he can coax his dog upstairs, to take him into his Bed, and make him a companion," and "Ben has a very sightly young mare which he has in

keeping for our intended Journey; this morning Bob agreed to give his brother a Pisterine, & a rich Tortoise Shell Handled Knife bound elegantly with Silver, only for the Liberty to ride this Mare every day to Water, until his Brother sets away, & would consent to be limited as to the Gait he should use in Riding," and "Bobs passion for the same Animal [the horse] is no less strong. . . . He rides excessive hard, & would ride always. . . . Neither Heat, nor Cold, nor Storm can stay him." There is the lover of dogs, horses, hard riding, and the chase in the making. Such boys grew not only into natural fox-hunters but their love of racers and races was inherent.

In the eighteenth century there were race courses on both sides of the Potomac throughout tidewater. The planters usually had a throughbred entry ready, and the meet was one of the gayest outdoor festivities of colonial life. Notices of the Virginia meets appeared in the Maryland *Gazette* with announcement of purses, and the Maryland races were advertised in Virginia, to entice not only the spectators but to attract entries of famous horses. The principal tracks frequented by the river families were those maintained by the Jockey Clubs of Alexandria, Annapolis, Marlboro, and Fredericksburg. Their meets extended over several days. At night the gentry found entertainment at the play, at dinners and dances at the larger town houses, and in puppet shows, rope dancing, and like simple entertainment for the casual crowd. The prizes ranged from fifty to one hundred guineas. The last of these great meets was held by the Fredericksburg Jockey Club in October, 1774, it being judged unseemly to continue

in the face of imminent war, and it was recommended that the purses raised for the races that year be contributed to the people of Boston.

Conspicuous among the many Potomac planters who bred racers were Francis Thornton of Society Hill, Daniel McCarty of Pope's Creek, William Brent of Richland, Thomson Mason of Fairfax, Colonel John Mercer of Marlboro, Philip Lightfoot Lee of Stratford Hall, Moore Fantleroy of Westmoreland, and Colonel Presley Thornton of Northumberland House. General Washington was a steward of the Alexandria Jockey Club. A sample of the round of entertainment found by him on his trips to the Annapolis Races is shown in his diary for September, 1771:

"21. Set out with Mr. Wonneley for the Annapolis Races. Dined at Mr. William Digges, and lodged at Mr. Ignatius Digges.

22. Dined at Mr. Sam. Galloway's, and lodged with Mr. Boucher in Annapolis.

23. Dined with Mr. Loyd Dulany, and spent the evening at the Coffee House.

24. Dined with the Govr., and went to the play and ball afterwards.

25. Dined at Dr. Stewards, and went to the play and ball afterwards.

26. Dined with Mr. Ridouts, and went to the play after it.

27. Dined at Mr. Carroll's, and went to the ball.

28. Dined at Mr. Boucher's, and went from thence to the play, and afterwards to the Coffee House.

29. Dined with Major Jenifer, and supped at Dan'l Dulany, Esqs.

30. Left Annapolis, and dined and supped with Mr. Sam'l Galloway.

October 1. Dined at Upper Marlborough, and reached home in the afternoon."

There were, however, numerous other tracks in the "old fields" near the river and the races there were taken not a whit less seriously by the participants than the grander occasions of the Jockey Clubs. So general was the attendance at the minor tracks that the county officials found these occasions a convenience for public announcements. The old records yield up many an instance of a race which began on the course and was settled in court. In one such instance in Westmoreland County, after hearing all the evidence in the court-room, the jury journeyed to the race track to make minute observations. When they returned they were still unable to agree on a verdict, and the Court ordered the sheriff to lock them up until they did agree and to give them neither bread, drink, candle, or fire.

Farther down river at Fairfield Race Track in St. Stephen's Parish, Northumberland County, Thomas Pinkard challenged Joseph Humphreys October 16, 1703, to match horses in a race to be run at Scotland Race Track in the same county, the last Thursday of the month, for ten pounds sterling, "whether faire or fowle weather." Humphreys brought his entry and waited several hours for Pinkard to appear with his. When after this time Pinkard did not come, Humphreys caused his horse to be ridden over the course and departed home, sued for the amount of the wager, and got a judgment which Pinkard appealed. From this

and other evidence it is obvious that a race was no slight matter whether it was run or no.

Boat races were often held in the quiet stretches of the creeks or on one of the bays or bends in the lee of a protecting point. The most frequent occasion for such a contest was when an English clipper came to anchor at a landing and the skipper matched his sailors against the plantation blacks. One of the records of such a race sets the course as four miles: "Each boat is to have 7 Oars: to row 2 Mile out & 2 Mile in round a Boat lying at Anchor—— The Bett is 50£ . . . in the Evening there is a great Ball to be given." Cock fights were favoured by all classes, purses up to one hundred pistoles were offered, and the match was followed by the inevitable ball which seems to have capped nearly all sporting events. Another democratic assembly, this one omitting the subsequent dance, was the boxing match, more properly to be called a fist fight no doubt, where black and white, high and low, gathered for the sport. Fithian, with rather more punctilious sentiments than infused the Potomac folk, noted: "By appointment is to be fought this Day near Mr. *Lanes* two fist battles between four young Fellows. The Cause of the battles I have not yet known; I suppose either that they are lovers, & one has in Jest or reality in some way supplanted the other; or has in a merry hour call'd him a *Lubber*, or a *thick-Skull*, or a *Buckskin*, or a *Scotchman*, or perhaps one has mislaid the other's hat, or knocked a peach out of his Hand, or offered him a dram without wiping the mouth of the Bottle; all these, & ten thousand more quite as trifling & ridiculous, are thought & accepted

as just Causes of immediate Quarrels, in which every diabolical Stratagem for Mastery is allowed & practiced, of Bruising, Kicking, Scratching, Pinching, Biting, Butting, Tripping, Throtling, Gouging, Cursing, Dismembering, Howling, &c. This spectacle, (so loathsome & horrible!) generally is attended with a crowd of People!"

As the principal planters of both banks of the river as a rule represented their counties in the Assembly of each colony, it was quite natural to find them packing off to the capitals soon after the crops had been harvested, and there they enjoyed the social life of the city. Although St. Mary's was the capital of the colony of Maryland until nearly the end of the seventeenth century and there was undoubtedly agreeable and distinguished social atmosphere about the Royal Governors, by the time the river was settled and the great houses built the capital had been moved to Annapolis. The same is true of Jamestown and Williamsburg in Virginia. The capital was removed to Williamsburg in 1799 only four years after Annapolis became Maryland's political centre. It was about the newer capitals that clustered the social recollections of town life in the eighteenth century.

Some of the richer men maintained town houses at the capitals in addition to their seats on the river. Thither they would remove their families for the three or four months of the Assembly and their entertainments were courtly as well as gay. The presence of a royal governor, usually a man of title as well as rank, set a social standard reflecting in some degree the standards in England. In each city there was a theatre

and a resident company of players who acted all the current plays of the London stage. Both colonies were fervent loyalists until the British taxation alienated all American affinity to England just before the Revolution, and among the occasions which distinguished the social calender in both capitals were the celebrations of the birthdays of the royal sovereigns. So long as Maryland was a palatinate a celebration of equal brilliancy was prepared on the Lord Proprietor's birthday. At the winter's end, when the sessions of the Assembly were concluded and the members returned to the river, it was with many promises of their city friends to come and taste the river hospitality. And so a balance was kept between respective obligations in town and country, but at root it was but one other expression of the inherent spirit in these gay colonials to make everybody and everything the occasion for a visit, a drink, a dinner, a dance, a wager, a race, or some form of festivity.

CHAPTER XV

Travel—Boats and Water Travel—Rolling Roads—Highways and Gates—Notched Roads in Maryland—Bridges Over the Creek Heads—Ingenuity in Fording—Equipage—Calash, Chaise, and Chariot—Ferries—Stage Coach Routes—Steamboats and Steam Trains—Tidewater Taverns—The Actors at the Ordinary.

"HOW," asked an inquisitive, "did the gad-about get about?" The Potomac colonists were scarcely gad-abouts. With primitive means, however, they did move in leisurely fashion from plantation to plantation, to church, to the court house, to the capital, to the races and even oversea. There was little travel for mere observation on the part of the river folk. They were too busy laying the foundations of history and building, however unconsciously, the traditions which give interest and charm to the Potomac's shores to-day, especially when they are known in the light of other days.

During the eighteenth century, more particularly after the Revolution, the American colonies became an object of inquisitive interest to foreigners and many of them came to this side of the Atlantic. Some of these later put their observations into books of travel rich in morsels about the early life on the Potomac from which among many sources it is amusing to glean information of the methods of moving about and the resources of the taverns and ordinaries.

The waters of the Potomac were naturally the first roadway known to its adjoining colonists. It was a roadway which needed no building, it never called for repairs, it came to every man's landing, and so established itself in the life of its people that land roads had great difficulty in ever getting themselves cut through the forests, much less built or improved or repaired.

For ocean travel, in addition to the larger ships, there were barks, brigs, brigantines, the ketch or catch, bilanders, pinks, and snows. For use exclusively on the river and for occasional adventures into the Chesapeake and its other estuaries there was the shallop, the schooner, the sloop, the longboat, the canoe and, according to Hugh Jones, the "Periagua." It seems probable that the boat in most general favour for domestic travel was the "pleasure schooner," which carried the planter and his family comfortably the length of the Potomac as well as beyond Smith Point and Point Lookout as far as the James to the south, north to the Severn and the Susquehannah, and across the Bay to the Eastern Shore. It was in such a craft, no doubt, that Fitzhugh went out of the Potomac and into the Patuxent to court the widow Rousby when she finally flung her acceptance of him from the shore as he held her kidnapped child over the schooner's side above a threatened watery grave.

For even more restricted use between neighbourly landings, on opposite shores or up the creeks, the planters maintained row-boats manned usually by four black uniformed oarsmen. If the sun beat uncomfortably they rigged an awning to break its bite.

Such water equipages darted back and forth between Warburton Manor and Mount Vernon, across the Wicomico, and back and forth among the great places in Nomini neighbourhood, carrying the family to church, the young folks to parties, and guests on to other hospitalities in the chain of great houses on both shores.

There are many engaging glimpses of the early water travel on the river, but none perhaps more characteristic than this entry in the diary of William Black, a Scotsman, who was secretary of a commission, of which Thomas Lee of Stratford was one, appointed by Governor Gooch in 1744 to meet the Indian Chiefs in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and treat for a settlement of lands west of the mountains:

"Thursday, May the 17th (1744). This Morning at 9 of the Clock, in Company with the Hon'ble Commissioners, and the Gentlemen of their Levees, Colonel John Taylor, Jun'r, Presley Thornton, Warren Lewis, Philip Ludwell Lee, James Littlepage, and Robert Brooke, Esquires, I Embarked on Board the Yacht Margaret lying off Stratford on the Potomac, and about 10 minutes after, was under sail with a small Breeze of Wind at S.W. One Jack Ensign and Pennon flying. After the vessel had got way, with the Trumpet we hailed the Company (who came to the waterside to see us on Board) with Fare-You-Well, who returned the Compliment, wishing us a Good Voyage and Safe Return, for which, on the part of the Company, I gave them Thanks with the discharge of the Blunderbuss. As far as I could observe the Gentlemen and Ladies on the Sandy Bank, we had full Sails, but on losing

Sight of them, or on their retiring we lost our Wind, which made me conclude, the Gentle Gale we had then was nothing else but the tender Wishes of the Women for their Husbands and the affectionate Concern of the Mothers for their Sons, Breath'd after Us in Gentle Sighs."

Water travel held a practically exclusive sway along the river shores during the early years. The first roads were not highways but mere private roads leading from the tobacco barns in the fields down the hill or across the bottoms to the landings. They were called "rolling-roads" as their reason for existence was to provide a clear way over which the huge tobacco containers were rolled direct from the curing and prizing barns to the ships which would carry them down the river and across the seas. Neither horses nor oxen were always essential to roll the casks or hogsheads. A pole was run through the container for an axle and, if other animals were wanting, a detachment of brawny blacks put their shoulders to the staves in a way that sped them to the landing.

The next type of road was the "wood road" from the plantation buildings into the forest as a way over which to haul out the firewood and building timbers which played so important a part in domestic life. Though called roads they were in fact only rough clearings. In the light of modern tidewater roads it is difficult to imagine what must have been the alleged highways which the crowding settlers, when forced later to take up lands back from the river, used to reach the landings and which the waterside planter used when compelled to journey overland to church, court, or the grist-mill.

But they did eventually evolve from trails to bridle paths, from bridle paths to a winding ribbon of clearing, flanked by forests or fields, and apparently obstructed by gate after gate. A reason for the gates was that a planter economized on fencing which he ran along only one side of the road. The way in effect led over one edge of field after field or over one grazing enclosure after another and the gates were necessary to prevent the loss of stock. Fithian, riding home to New Jersey in 1774, noted thirteen gates on the few miles of road from Squire Lee's near Hooe's Ferry in Charles County, Maryland, to Port Tobacco; between that town and Piscataway, fifteen gates; and thence to Upper Marlboro another fifteen gates. The turbulent Mrs. Turberville of Pecatone had, as already noted, her own way of dealing with these obstructions to her progress. She armed her outriders with axes and ordered them to smash all obstructions. But, in truth, nearly all travellers by wheeled vehicles carried axes. The primitive roads were so narrow that two conveyances could not pass except when they met happily in the open fields. If they met in the forest a roadside clearing was cut away. Too, when the ruts ahead were forbiddingly deep, and the mire and chuck-holes menaced, the axes were swung to clear a detour around the otherwise impassable places. The riverside roads still exhibit the willingness of the driver to clear a way around a bad piece of road rather than mend it, which is another, if another were needed, of the innumerable evidences of the fixity of human nature. An old Virginia law of 1657 speaks volumes on the state of the first roads there. It required that all roads be "cleered yeerly."

They had a system of highway marking in Maryland, which survives in the name of the road which reaches north from Point Lookout between the Potomac and the Patuxent. It is still called the Three-Notched Road. In 1704 an act was passed which required that any road leading to a ferry, court house, or church should be "marked on both sides the road with two notches"; and the road leading to a court house had to have, "two notches on the trees on both sides of the road aforesaid and another Notch at a distance above the other two"; and any road that led to a church had to be marked "at the entrance into the same and at the leaving any other road with a Slipe Cutt down the fface of the tree near the ground"; and the road to a ferry had to be marked "with three notches of equall Distance at the entrance into the same."

In wet weather and in winter the roads were fairly impassable. The creek heads were marshy and where the tide had forced a channel a crossing required a bridge. The requirement did not insure that there was a bridge at such a point. What it really meant was that the traveller made his way across farther up where the creek was shallower or that he swam and led his horse across the watery barrier, for bridges were few, and such as they were, poorly kept up. Hugh Jones found this circuiting of creek heads to be the "worst inconveniency" of land travel in the tidewater country.

When the way was shortened by an attempt to bridge a creek in its narrower reaches the "inconveniency" seems not to have been wholly eliminated. In such a place a "floating bridge" was the earliest device. The engineering was simple. Logs of wood were placed

side by side on the surface of the water and planks were lashed to them. Such a bridge floated high, but only somewhat dry, until weighted with vehicle and horses. Then it disappeared to a depth in proportion to the weight upon it, and the animals splashed their way across an invisible floor. The floating bridge was scarcely a dry walk even for a foot passenger.

The attempts to ferry vehicles across the runs and creeks were as ludicrous as they were ingenious and difficult. It was of course one thing to find the ferry, another to find the ferry-man. If the ferry was a dug-out or a canoe the traveller rode in the boat and swam his horse across. It was necessary often to take wheeled vehicles apart in order to get them aboard the primitive boats, or for the vehicle to straddle the boat with the wheels cutting the water on both sides. When two boats were available, if one of them was not large enough for the job, they were lashed parallel and the wheels of one side of the vehicle rested in one boat and those of the other side rested in the other boat. In such manner also horses even were ferried, with their fore feet in one canoe and their hind feet in another.

In spite of this indifference to road building and road mending, if not to the hardships imposed by the neglected state of the tidewater highways, it is curious to discover that the first American turnpike started from the Potomac. This pike was begun in 1785 and ran from Alexandria to "Sniggers and Vesta's Gaps" in the lower Shenandoah Valley.

The first road travel was on horseback and the earliest cartage was the rolling tobacco cask. Then followed the high-wheeled carts, the wheels of solid

planks, drawn by yoked oxen. These powerful, slow-moving beasts are not unfamiliar on the roads near the shores after nearly three centuries, meekly obedient to a word from the carter or a gentle touch from his directing wand. As the hinterland settled and the roads opened and the planters developed the amenities of life, there came, with the finery and plate from England, a variety of equipages. Horses multiplied rapidly and fine strains distinguished all the leading pastures. They were hitched to calashes and carriages, chaises and chariots, for if there was no particular pride in the roads there was a distinct pride in the horses driven and in the vehicles in which the planter and his family rode forth.

William Fitzhugh wrote to England in 1687 for a coach or calash with "double gear" but in 1690 he wrote that he had been persuaded "to send for a chaise 'Roulant' as he calls it which I can find no other way English than by calling it a Running chair, which he told me was altogether as convenient & commodious as either of them, & would be a cheap thing for an Essay, upon which I wrote him to give me an account & discipline thereof." The chaise roulant seems to have failed to satisfy, for two years later he wrote across for "one of the lightest and cheapest calishes you can meet with, to be drawn with one horse, for so it will be oftenest used, though I would have furniture for two at least." Councillor Carter had a "riding chair", perhaps the "small neat chair with two waiting men" in which he was once seen to set out for Colonel Tayloe's Mount Airy.

Gradually the approved conveyance for the

established planters on both sides of the river came to be the coach or chariot, drawn by four or six horses, with postilions on the leaders. Such coaches were handsome and commodious and were made comfortable by the long sweep of springs which took up the jar as the wheels bumped over stones or swung into the ever-yawning ruts. The coach was usually emblazoned with the family arms and the colours thereof appeared in the coach lining, in the hammer-cloth on the box and in the livery of the coachman, footmen, and postilion. When the journey was over a considerable distance a gentleman was sometimes accompanied by a riding horse, and when he became weary of confinement in the chariot he would shift to the saddle. This means was no doubt often used to hurry over the last miles of a journey for, though a riding horse was able to make excellent time over indifferent roads, a chariot was too heavy and too cumbersome to venture at particular speed except on rare stretches.

Washington left one thorough description of an eighteenth-century coach in a letter to his London agent in 1768, and this agent gave another description in his invoice when shipping it oversea. Washington's directions read:

"My old chariot having run its race, and gone through as many stages as I could conveniently make it travel, is now rendered incapable of any further service. The intent of this letter, is to desire you will bespeak me a new one, time enough to come out with the goods (I shall hereafter write for) by Captn. Johnston, or some other ship. As these are kind of articles that last with care against number of years, I would

willingly have the chariot you may now send me made in the newest taste, handsome, genteel and light; yet not slight, and consequently unserviceable; to be made of the best seasoned wood, and by a celebrated workman. The last importation which I have seen, besides the customary steel springs, have others that play in a brass barrel and contribute at one and the same time to the ease and ornament of the carriage. One of this kind, therefore, would be my choice; and green being a colour little apt, as I apprehend, to fade, and grateful to the eye, I would give it the preference, unless any other colour more in vogue and equally lasting is entitled to precedency. In that case I would be governed by fashion. A light gilding on the mouldings (that is, round the panels) and any other ornaments, that may not have a heavy and tawdry look (together with my arms agreeable to the impression here sent) might be added, by way of decoration. A lining of a handsome, lively coloured leather of good quality I should also prefer, such as green, blue, or &c., as may best suit the colour of the outside. Let the box that slips under the seat be as large as conveniently can be made (for the benefit of storage upon a journey), and to have a pole (not shafts) for the wheel horses to draw by; together with a handsome set of harness for four middle sized horses ordered in such a manner as to suit either two postilions (without a box), or a box and a postilion. The box being made to fix on, and take off occasionally, with a hammel cloth &c., suitable to the lining. On the harness let my crest be engraved."

The chariot maker's invoice read:

"A handsome new Chariot, made of best materials,

handsomely carved anticks to middle of pillars, and carved scrowl corners to top of pillars and roof, batten sides, sweeps of sides and mouldings round the roof carved with double ribings, hind battens and fore battens arched and carved; pannelled back and sides japaned and polished, and roof japaned; lined with green morocco leather trimmed with coffoy lace, an oval behind, a large trank [*sic*] under the seat, the bottom covered with red leather and a handsome carpet to bottom. Plate glass, diamond cut; handsomely painted, the body and carriage wheels painted a glazed green; all the framed work of body gilt, handsome scrowl, shields, ornamented with flowers all over the panels; body and carridge oil varnished; the carridge with iron axle tree screwed at ends, handsomely carved scrowl standards, twisted behind and before, and stays of foot board barrs and beads carved with scrowls and paneled; patent woorm brass nails, a handsome seat cloth, embroidered with broad la: [?] and two rows of handsome fringe with gimp head, all complete."

Such a vehicle cost £103. Four years later an English ship brought in a new coach for Councillor Carter of Nomini Hall for which the price was £120 sterling. Perhaps this included the harness which arrived by the same passage, but the difference in the price of the two coaches might have lodged in the fact that the Carter coach had six wheels. At any rate, he is reported to have had such a curious chariot difficult as it is to conceive its manipulation.

For nearly two hundred years tidewater Potomac stretched from northwest to southeast a bridgeless, watery barrier between the north and south Atlantic

coast sending nearly all land travel across its fresh water at or above Georgetown. After the Federal Capital came to the river a bridge soon leaped across the narrow channel and the more extensive water-covered flats which divided the then rectangular District of Columbia. The water has never been spanned south of the City of Washington. There has been persistent, but so far unresulting, talk of throwing a long bridge from Charles County in Maryland to King George County in Virginia. Much of the distance between shores north and all south of this stretch is too great for economical bridging.

It has been said that "nearly" all land travel was formerly deflected above Georgetown, because, though there were no bridges below this point, there were several ferries. As essential units in north-and-south travel and as the travel links more particularly between the two adjacent colonies, most of them have disappeared. But their existence manifests itself in the letters, diaries, laws, and other records of the early period. Curiously, the colony of Maryland seems not to have passed any laws to establish ferries over the Potomac. On the other hand, Virginia provided officially for several. The first of these was ordered, in 1705, "In Stafford County from Col. William Fitzhugh's landing in Potowmac River, over to Maryland." Fifteen years later another ferry was established, destined to be the main link between lower tidewater and the north, "from Col. Rice Hoe's to Cedar Point in Maryland." From 1732 to 1766 thirteen other ferries were ordered across tidewater Potomac by the colonial legislators. Among the routes mentioned are

"just below the mouth of Quantico Creek to the landing place at Col. George Mason's in Maryland"; "from Robert Lovell's in the County of Westmoreland, across the river to Maryland"; "from the plantation of Francis Aubrey in the County of Prince William over to Maryland"; "from the plantation of John Hereford in Doeg's Neck in the County of Prince William over the river to the lower side of Pamunky in Prince George's County in Maryland"; from Hunting Creek warehouse on the "land of Hugh West, in Prince William County, over the river to Frazer's Point in Maryland"; "from the land of William Clifton, in Fairfax County . . . to the tenure of Thomas Wallis in Prince George's County in Maryland," much used by George Washington in his journeys between Mount Vernon and New York and Philadelphia"; "from the land of Hugh West in Fairfax County . . . either to Frazier's or Addison's landing", connecting the rising city of Alexandria with the opposite shore; "from the plantation opposite Rock Creek over to Maryland"; and from the land of "John Posey to the land of Thomas Marshall in Maryland" which last ferry connected the south fields of Mount Vernon with Marshall Hall estate and provided ready communication with the Port Tobacco route south.

Hooe's Ferry perpetuated the name of Rice Hooe who came to Virginia in 1621 and whose descendants settled on the river just south of Mathias Point in 1715. There they built Barnsfield which was a Hooe home until it was burned during the Civil War by federal order as it was believed that blockade runners were guided by signals given by lights in its windows.

Although the statutes routed Hooe's Ferry to "Cedar Point in Maryland," meaning the present Lower Cedar Point, a map accompanying the Maryland volume of the first census of the United States, 1790, shows the eastern landing to have been just above Pope's Creek. Presumably the passengers were disembarked at a variety of landings according to the tide, the wind, and there own preferences.

"In the night we got to old Hooe's," wrote William Gregory in his diary, September 30, 1765, on his way to New Haven, in Connecticut. "I asked him if he would put me over, but he said (for all being a fine moonlight) that he could ferry no one over that night. 'But,' he said, 'you can stay at my house all night. You, Moses, take the General's horses.' We began to think that this was no bad joke. After talking about the Stamps, Tobacco, Corn, etc., says the old fellow, 'Have you eat dinner today?' 'No,' says I. 'Go look, girl, if there is any cold victuals left.' So to our surprise, we got something to eat, which is more kindness, I suppose, than he has shown any stranger in 7 years. Well, bed-time drawing near, he said we must pay our ferriage, for he would not be up in time for us in the morning. So I paid my ferriage, and Mr. Glen returned back to Monomy. After I got over I went to Saddler's and had myself and horse fed; but, alas! Old Hooe's marsh grass sickened my horse, and with much to do I got him to Port Tobacco."

Washington found this a convenient route from Mount Vernon to his brothers in Westmoreland and thence to Williamsburg. Fithian, after he had made his original journey south via Georgetown, made each

subsequent journey in both directions by Hooe's Ferry, though its name seems sometimes to have varied according to the keeper. When Henry Laurens of South Carolina was on his way home from the Congress in 1779 previous to his historic trip abroad under appointment as our minister to Holland, Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly wrote him: "I shall continue to entertain the very agreeable hopes of being honored with your Company in your way Southward. Your route is thro Baltimore, across the Potomac at Hoes, and from Mr. Hoe you will get exact direction to my house."

A Mr. J. F. D. Smyth of England, feeling his country's need of exact information about the lately revolted colonies, came to America in 1783 and later published two volumes on his Travels. He crossed the Potomac at Hooe's Ferry of which he said: "Here we were not a little diverted at a reply made by the owner of this ferry to a perſon enquiring after the health of one his neareſt relatives . . . 'Sir, (ſaid he) the intenſe frigidity of the circumambient atmoſphere had ſo congealed the pellucid aqueous fluid of the enormous river Potomack, that with the moſt eminent and ſuperlative reluctance, I was conſtrained to procraſtinate my premeditated egreſſion to the Palatinate Province of Maryland for the medical, chemical, and Galenical co-adjuvancy and co-operation of a diſtinguiſhed ſanative ſon of Eſculapius, until the peccant deleterious matter of the Athritis had pervaded the cranium, into which it had aſcended and penetrated, from the inferior pedeſtrial major digit of my paternal relative in conſanguinity, whereby his morboſity was magnified ſo

exorbitantly as to exhibit an abfolute extinguifhment of vivification.' This fingular and bombaftic genius is a near relative of the American General Washington, and it would certainly afford high entertainment to hear this gentleman's account of his relation's feats of prowefs, and the unexpected fuccefs of the Americans."

A dozen years later Isaac Weld came across the ocean to view the new country as a possible haven from the political storms at home, and returned to publish an account of his travels and observations. He had an unhappy time before and after crossing the Potomac and included this experience with Mr. Hooe's boats: "The river at the Ferry is about three miles wide and with particular winds the waves rife very high; in thefe cafes they always tie the horfes, for fear of accidents, before they fet out; indeed, with the fmall open boats which they make ufe of, it is what ought always to be done for in this country gufts of wind rife fuddenly, and frequently when they are not at all expected: having omitted to take this precaution, the boat was on the point of being overfet two or three different times as I croffed over."

The development of the roads on the hill-tops flanking the river developed the stage coaches and the ordinary. On the Maryland side, however, there was apparently no stage line along the river as there was on the opposite shore. On the Virginia side there was an important through road which connected Georgetown, Alexandria, Occoquon, Dumfries, Fredericksburg, and Richmond. Over this road rolled the family coaches drawn by four or six horses. At intervals along its way sprang ordinaries with food and shelter for man and

beast. A stage route carried vagrant passengers over these roads, but the conveyance appears to have been no handsome coach but a vehicle offering merely a succession of cross seats, sheltered indifferently and desperately uncomfortable.

How private travel was accomplished over this road in 1790 is indicated by these details from a letter of one of the grandsons of Thomas Lee of Stratford on a visit to Virginia. He wrote his father from Mount Vernon: "Our mode of travelling is as follows. Uncle and nephew in Uncle's phaeton; John the Baptist in Jones' sulky, and Philip the African on horse back with portmanteau. We go from Col. Mason's to Richland, Mrs. Thomas Lee's seat, thence to Bellevue, the seat of Mr. Thos. L. Lee; to Chatham, to Mansfield, the former the seat of Mr. Fitzhugh, the later of Mr. Mann Page; to Chantilly, to Nomini, to Manokin, to Richmond, to Westover, to Cawson, to Petersburg, to Greenspring, to Uncle William's, to Williamsburg, and then according to my time my route will be further determined."

A diverting glimpse of stage travel is found in Mellish's Travels sixteen years later: "At half past four o'clock I took my place in the stage, and we left Alexandria a little before 5. We travelled by a pretty rough road, 17 miles, to Occoquon creek, where we stopped for breakfast. After breakfast, the company began to get a little acquainted with each other, and to exchange sentiments. I mentioned before that we were 11 in number, and it will show the nature of travel in this country, to mention the places of destination. Three of the passengers were going to Richmond, Virginia, 126 miles distant; two were going to Columbia, in South Carolina,

distant 511 miles; one to Augusta, in Georgia, distant 596 miles; one to Fayetteville, North Carolina, 351 miles; three to different places in the interior of the country; and I was going to Savannah, in Georgia, distant 653 miles.

"As we constituted a little republic, and several of us were to be many days together, we proceeded to elect office-bearers. The gentleman from Fayetteville was chosen president; the company conferred on me the honour of being vice-president; and thus organized we proceeded to the 'order of the day.'

"Our president, who was called captain, by which title I shall hereafter denominate him, was an excellent travelling companion. He sung a good song; told a good story; and was, withal, very facetious, and abounded with mirth, humour and jollity.

"He had not long taken the chair, when, with the permission of the company, he sung a humorous song, which put us all in good spirits. He then proposed that each man in his turn should, when called on by the president, sing a song, tell a story, or pay five cents; which being unanimously agreed to, was immediately carried into execution, and called forth a wonderful degree of merriment and good humour. I found myself a little at a loss, as I did not wish to part with my cents, and I had nothing but *Scots stories* and *Scots songs;* but I soon found that these were highly satisfactory, and that the name of Robert Burns was as well known, and as highly esteemed in Virginia, as in Ayrshire.

"Our captain was both a son of Neptune and a son of Mars; and could adapt the technical language of these professions to the different movements of the

stage, with remarkable facility. When the coach heeled to one side, he would call out, 'to the right and left, and cover your flanks—whiz'; and when we passed a stream by a ford, he would sing out, 'by the deep nine', accompanied by all the attitudes of heaving the lead. The day was clear, pleasant, and healthy; and, in this strain of merriment and good-humour, we prosecuted our journey much to our satisfaction.

"From where we breakfasted, we travelled through a hilly country, and but partially cultivated, to *Dumfries*, a small town containing about 300 inhabitants, court house, jail, &c.; and, from thence, we passed on through a hilly country, but more improved, to Fredericksburg, 25 miles, where we stopped for the night."

From Mellish and other sources of information it would seem that sixty-odd miles was the average day's travel by stage from before dawn until dark had settled. Private travel was more leisurely. Fithian on horse allowed six days from Nomini to Princeton. Washington in his coach allowed himself four or five days between Mount Vernon and Philadelphia.

The experiment of propelling a boat by steam was made successfully first by James Rumsey, on the Potomac, but far back in the "freshes" near Shepardstown and not on the Potomac of the landings. The quick development of this new power opened a new combination for the trip from the north to the south of the Potomac. By 1815 at least steamers connected Washington, Alexandria, Norfolk, and Richmond by an all-water route. This method of travelling to Richmond was little favoured, however, as a passenger route, for the quicker connection between the Potomac and the

upper James could for many years thereafter be made by use of the stage for part of the way at least. The steamboats would carry passengers between Washington and a landing in either Aquia or Potomac Creek, and they completed the journey to Fredericksburg or Richmond by the old stage. The advertisements named twenty-six hours as the running time between Washington and Richmond and the fare was $8.50. When steam was applied to land travel, a railroad crept upfrom Richmond to Fredericksburg at first and later up to Aquia Creek just before the Civil War and drove the horse-drawn stage off the road. Later the railroad extended itself to a landing at Quantico and finally to Alexandria and Washington. Each time the water trip was shortened by so much. But the river was not eliminated from the experience of the traveller for the new metal way kept him in sight of the water along many miles between Aquia and the long bridge over which he entered the Capital. In the transition period of the middle of the nineteenth century the river became the roadway of a line of steam packets between Washington and Philadelphia and New York. There was a service of two steamers a week in each direction with a landing in the Potomac at the foot of High Street in Georgetown. The Potomac, as part of a roadway from Washington to the north, was abandoned about 1880 under pressure of competition with the shorter, swifter steam railway which had thrown out its steel threads along the entire Atlantic Coast. But the all-water route down the river to the bay and thence on the right to Norfolk or on the left to Baltimore has always prospered.

The senior of all Potomac River inns was doubtless "Jellie's Tavern" in St. Mary's City. It stood at the west end of Middle Street only a step across from the State House, and its tap room and other hospitalities became so alluring to the clerks in the provincial offices that the Council in 1686 requested the Mayor and Aldermen to suppress it. Farther east stood the "Council Room" and "The Coffee House" of Garrett Van Swearingen, another popular keeper of ordinary in the little capital. With these taverns in sight at all times, and no doubt often experiencing their supplies and demands, the legislators made stringent rules which governed them. The St. Mary's bonifaces were obliged to have at least twenty feather beds, and in their stables they were required to furnish room for at least twenty horses. Among the charges fixed by law, as combed out of the archives by Thomas, were: "Lodging in bed with sheets, 12 pence; diet, 1 shilling per meal; brandy, malaga and sherry, 10 shillings per gallon; canary, 12 shillings; French, Rhenish, Dutch and English wines, 6 shillings; Mum, 3 shillings; plain cider, 25 and boiled cider, 30 lbs. tob. per quart."

By 1668 "small tippling houses", probably mere drinking bars, became so numerous in Virginia that a law was passed limiting each county to one at the court house and one at a public landing or ferry. This prohibition, however, as well as that on strong liquors, was quickly swept aside. The ordinaries for the refreshment of the stomach of man and of beast grew plentiful, but for lodgings there was little demand except at Georgetown and Alexandria. The stage trip between the latter city and Fredericksburg con-

sumed only one daylight, and travellers who found themselves obliged to spend the night between these points depended on private hospitality as did those who journeyed into King George, Westmoreland, and Northumberland counties where, before the Revolution, there was scarcely a tavern worth the name. Richard Henry Lee wrote Laurens who was about to start south from Philadelphia: "There are three houses on your way here, the Masters of which are my friends, and where yourself, your people and horses will be kindly and hospitably sustained—M[r] Jacob Giles just on this side of Susquehannah Ferry—M[r] Stephen West about 5 miles on this side Upper Marlborough in Maryland, and the Honorable Richard Lee Esq[r]. near Hooes ferry on the north side of Potomac. I mention these, because the public houses afford very indifferent entertainment for Man or horse."

Coming northward out of Fredericksburg the first stop was at Dumfries, and the handsome brick tavern which dates back to colonial days still stands intact on the edge of the highway. At Colchester, where Mason's ferry carried man and horse across Occoquon Creek, there were "The Cross Keys" and "The Fairfax Arms." One of these two was no doubt "Mr. Gordon's Tavern" which John Davis found on the south bank and to it he devoted one of his many high-flown paragraphs which read a little as if written in the tap room on acquaintance with Mr. Gordon's best:

"I have found taverns in the woods of America, not inferior to those of the common market towns in England. My description of the tavern [Gordon's] at the mouth of the Occoquon partakes of no hyper-

bolical amplification; the apartments are numerous, and at the same time spacious; carpets of delicate texture cover the floors; and glasses are suspended from the walls in which a Goliath might survey himself. No man can be more complacent than the landlord. Enter but his house with money in your pocket, and his features will soften into the blandishments of delight; call and your mandate is obeyed; extend your leg and the boot-jack is brought you."

The successor to the declining ordinaries of St. Mary's as the best on the Potomac in the eighteenth century was doubtless Gadsby's Tavern in Alexandria, a title challenged only by the inns of Georgetown. This house still stands, at the corner of Royal and Cameron streets, a single block from Colonel Carlyle's house and separated from it by the City Hall and Market. It has, however, long since abandoned its cheering vocation of welcoming and comforting the traveller, and stands up lamely, a battered, crumpling, weather-beaten derelict. Yet this house entertained most of the great provincials of the eighteenth century who travelled between the North and the South, and most of the celebrated foreigners who came after the Revolution to visit Washington at Mount Vernon. One of its unique distinctions is that it was the scene of the first formal celebration of Washington's Birthday anywhere, in 1798. Washington drove up from Mount Vernon for the ball and supper and doubtless again the next year for the "Manœuvres by the uniform corps."

"It is observable," wrote John Davis, "that Gadesby keeps the best house of entertainment in America."

"The Inn I slept at," wrote Robert Sutcliff the

English Quaker, "is kept by an Englishman by the name of Gadsley [*sic*], and is conducted in a manner much superior to most inns in this country, or many in England. Everything was preserved neat and clean, with good beds, and not more than one or two in a chamber. . . . Soon after I fell asleep," continued Friend Sutcliff, "I was suddenly waked by the noise of a number of horns. It appeared to me that the instruments used were cow-horns; and they made a prodigious bellowing in the dead of night. On inquiring I found that it was the constant practice of the watchmen of this city, on meeting to take their rounds, to serenade the citizens with a loud blast from their horns, which they carry with them, and which are used for the same purpose as the watchman's rattles in England."

Presumably it was at Gadsby's that Benjamin Latrobe stopped on the occasion of his encounter in Alexandria with the riotous company of Philadelphia actors in 1796. If it was some other tavern the scene is none the less picturesque and typical of a life long since stilled. "Arrived about eight o'clock at Alexandria," he noted in his Journal. "About half-past eight the Philadelphia company of players who are now acting in a barn in the neighbourhood came in in a body. They had been at a 'drinking party' in the neighbourhood. . . .

"This honourable company was shown at first into a small room opposite the supper room, where those who could not stand sat down. The others filled the passage and hiccoughed into the faces of those who had business at the bar. In this small room two or three

songs were well sung, and, mellowed by the distance, the sound arrived pleasantly enough in the supper room where I was writing.

"About nine my last night's sleeplessness induced me to go to bed . . . I lay down, and as I was the only one in the room I should have fallen asleep had not messieurs the players become dissatisfied with their accomodations in the small room and insisted upon a larger. That immediately under me was assigned them, and the movement commenced. . . .

"As now the furniture became silent, the clamour made up the deficiency for an hour. Screeching, hallooing, roaring, laughing, and simultaneous conversation continued, till at last the cry of, 'Order, gentlemen! Silence for a song!' And the knocking that accompanied these festal rounds drowned every other.

"'Time has not thinned my flowing hair,' was struck up by Robbins, at least a sixth too high.

"'That won't do,' cried Francis. 'Time has not thinned my flowing hair.' (This time a third too low.)

"'Both wrong,' exclaimed Wood. 'Listen, this is the key; Time has not thinned my flowing hair.'

"Now on they went, too low for Robbin's falsetto and too high for his natural voice, and just hovering over the crack that seperates Francis's bass from his treble.

"Would to mercy on my ears, thought I, that water had *thinned your flowing grog.* However, they got through it fairly well, for they sang this hackneyed, but always incomparable, duet both in time and tune.

Roars of approbation and talking all together in a body. 'Toby Philpot,' 'Bonney Bet,' and all the old routine of English drinking songs succeeded, with interludes of noise, till at last 'My friend so rare, my girl so fair, my friend, my girl, my pitcher,' seemed to have exhausted their lungs and their tempo into a general crash, slamming and knocking of chairs and tables around the room. And then silence as they filed out. . . .

"I rejoiced in the prospect of three hours' sleep before I should be called to proceed by stage. My joy was premature. Several of the worthies chose to sleep at the tavern, and they were ushered into the room exactly over my head; to go to bed quietly would have been entirely out of character. The corporeal exercise of this sort of gentry had no scope below; upstairs all was roomy and the party select. Wrestling, tumbling, dancing, pulling about bedsteads were the gymnastic exercises with which the night was concluded. Between three and four all was still; a feverish doze took possession of my senses, and scarcely had I forgotten myself before the half-sleeping waiter yawned to me that the stage waited at the door."

The Georgetown inns with historic traditions have all passed. It was about the quaint, low, spare quarters of Suter's Tavern that clustered the more distinguished travellers of the Colonial and Early Republican periods. It stood, not too impressive, behind a low portico, on the northwest corner of Water and Congress streets. The latter is now Thirty-First Street. This tavern faced Congress Street, and at its south end was an open yard for coaches and horses. In the

middle of this yard rose a gibbet-like post from which swung the tavern's weather-beaten signboard. John Suter was the host. He is spoken of as a "jolly old Scotsman" and Thomas Jefferson said that "no man on the Atlantic coast can bring out a better bottle of Madeira or sherry than Old Suter." Most of the big-wigs of the South stopped at his inn on their way to and from the congresses in New York and Philadelphia. It is doubtful, however, if any other of the brave gatherings and grave conferences at Suter's equalled that of the end of June, 1791. Congress had decided the previous year to locate the Capitol of the new United States on the banks of the Potomac in a comparative wilderness between Georgetown and Anacostia Creek. A commission on platting the new city, headed by Thomas Jefferson, met George Washington in Georgetown the summer following. The whole party lodged at Suter's while the ground was surveyed; the sites for the Capitol, the White House, and other essential public buildings were definitely located; and the deeds were prepared and signed. It is perhaps a none too rash conjecture that a large part of this historic business was transacted under Suter's roof and concluded with pledges to the future of the Federal City in glasses of the old Scotsman's madeira.

It was more than a decade after this before the new city became in the least habitable, but from the time the national executives and legislators came to the Potomac Georgetown taverns were the homes of most of the distinguished statesmen and visitors until well along in the nineteenth century. The glory of Suter's was during this time eclipsed by newer inns,

like it surviving only in record and tradition. Among them all, however, an especial glamour attached to Crawford's Tavern, afterward the Union, and its guest books, if they remain, would prove a directory of all the great characters who came to the Capital in its formative days.

CHAPTER XVI

Mail—Letter Writing—Primitive Carriers—Letters from the Landings by English Ships—Letters in Duplicate by Different Ships as Insurance of Delivery—First Mail Route—Perry the Post Rider—Letters to Philadelphia Regularly Eight Times a Year—Spottswood Speeds the Posts—Mail Day at the Landings—Gazettes.

CLOSE as the boot and the bag in old stage-coach days was travel and the mails. As one developed the other developed. They are identical in kind though differing in particular, both reducing to the common denominator of communication, whether in person by the spoken word or vicariously by the written word.

The dwellers along the Potomac enjoyed no organized postal facilities until 1695. Though the date marks the appearance of the first post rider on the river shore his visits were infrequent enough, and his kind multiplied slowly. It was not until this date had been pushed a hundred years in the past that an actual postal organization included the river planters.

The appreciation of letters when communication was crudest offers itself as additional evidence of the appreciation which gives itself always to objects of rareness, achieved with difficulty and attended with the romance of uncertainty. In colonial days official letter-writing was almost pontifical in its dignity. The epistles addressed to relatives and friends were somewhat less

ceremonial, but as they were leisurely in their transit and rare in their appearances, their style and content were rich in the product of leisure and in the sense of rareness. The old quills seem to have waddled across the paper with the deliberateness of the goose that gave them. There was no hurry in the composition of the word-mazes which dragged their length over the vast distances between full stops, and there can be no hurry in reading them.

The ship captains and casual travellers were the first although unofficial postmen. The same means were employed to send a letter from Port Tobacco down river to the little capital at St. Mary's as from any of the plantation landings to factors in London, Bristol, or other oversea city. The letter was written on a large sheet in such a manner as to leave the last page blank. It was then so folded that the blank page became the outer wrapping or improvised envelope, and its contents were secured against prying eyes with huge seals of wax bearing the writer's crest. The paper jackets known as envelopes did not appear until 1840 and letters were innocent even of postage stamps until about the same relatively recent date.

When it was known that a ship was at or near the landing and about to sail to the destination intended for the letter, it was handed to the captain or an accommodating passenger for delivery by him when, in the course of a leisurely roundabout voyage, the kindly winds, waves, and pirates might permit him to make his home port.

So it happens that many of the colonial letters begin with such phrases as: "This day Capt. Walker was

LOOKING UP THE POTOMAC

From the ramparts of Fort Washington built on the Warburton Manor lands at the mouth of Piscataway Creek. On a clear day the city of Washington and the Capitol of the United States are visible twelve miles away. In another direction Mount Vernon is in plain view only two miles distant.

here and gave me notice of his intention to sail in a few days, which sets me immediately to writing"; "An opportunity is presented from N. Potomack and I embrace it to answer your favour by Dr Jones"; "I have this conveniency by Nat. Garland"; "Mr. Herriout being bound your way I could not miss so fit an opportunity of saluting yourself and good Lady"; "This conveniency of Mr Simpson gives me opportunity"; "By meer accident at Mr Blains store I met with opportunity by Mr Adams, and being taken by surprise, I cannot so fully as I wish answer your letter lately received"; "I was just writing in my letter book a long letter to you by Capt. Page who sails, he says, in a few days from this time. But apprehending that Anderson will go first, I take this opportunity by Mr Wilson"; "I wrote you lately & fully by the Justitia Capt. Gray whom I expected would sail before Dobby, but now I learn that Dobby will first sail"; "Hearing that a Ship is about to clear for Glasgow I enclose the second of a bill, the first of which went about a week ago from Rappahannock"; and "I begin this early before Rayoon sails that I may have opportunity to be more full and particular, intending still to add as new occurances shall render it necessary to do so, between this time and the departure of the Liberty."

The necessity of employing any and every casual traveller as letter bearer is further shown by such phrases as: "Your two letters by Capt. Smith and Capt. Partis I have received"; "I just now receiv'd your kind letter by Mr. Bonam, & take this opportunity by Mr. Minor to return you thanks"; writing in July, 1765, "By Captain Talman I was favored

with your obliging letter of April last"; "Yesterday at Nomony ferry, in my way with Mrs. Lee to Northumberland, I received your several favors by our cousin Lancelot, and just catch a moment here to answer them by Capt. New who is expected every hour to clear"; "Your favors by the Eliza and M^r^ Wiggington have come safely to hand. That by Capt. Curtis I have not received, altho he sailed with Greig, who arrived four days ago"; "Yours came to my hand yesterday by Mr. Fox"; "Both yours I have received by Capt. Paine and am glad of yours"; and "Your two letters, one by Opy, the other by Capt. Jones in the Richard and John, came safe to hand."

Letters to England if important were often sent in duplicate or triplicate by different ships to discount the uncertainties of arrival or delivery. William Fitzhugh, wishing to expedite his letters from England, requested "speedy notice" in 1686, "if ships should not come into our River, by directing letters for me to be left at Mr. Jno. Buckner's clerk of Gloucester County in York River, or to Coll^o^ William Diggs in St. Mary's in Maryland, who will give a quick conveyance to my hand and are so conveniently seated that letters coming into any part of Virginia or Maryland will suddenly fall into their hands." "Suddenly" is surely a comparative term. In a letter from Washington to his former secretary, David Humphreys, in Paris, written at Mount Vernon in 1785, he asks for more frequent letters, "especially as there is a regular conveyance once a month by the packet." There is apparently no clue as to whether such a mail service came directly into the Potomac. If it did so, it did not monopolize

the mail, for the casual ship was still found a "conveniency" as late as 1804 when Friend Sutcliffe entered in his diary: "9th Month, 20th. I attended Alexandria monthly meeting in the forenoon; and, there being a vessel lying here, which was about sailing for Liverpool, I wrote and forwarded several letters to my relatives in England."

Until the very end of the seventeenth century the carriage of letters was entirely a private, ungoverned process. Once, at St. Mary's in 1661, the danger of such inadequacy was given attention, but only in so far as official communications were concerned. Private letters were not yet of apparent consequence. It was enacted that all letters "to or sent from" his Lordship's officials and touching public affairs should "without delay be sent from howse to howse, the direct way till they be safely delivered as directed; and every person after Receipt of such Letter delaying to carry the said Letters to the next howse shall pay for a fine to the Lord Proprietary One hundred pounds of tobacco" unless it arrived too late in the day or "that through violence of wynd or Tempest it could by noe meanes be sent over the Creeks or River." The method in vogue on the other shore at the same time was provided by the law which said that official letters should be superscribed "For the Publique Service" and such letters should be "immediately conveyed from plantation to plantation, to the place and person directed, under the penalties of one hogshead of tobacco."

About 1695 postal affairs took life in all the colonies, but in so far as the river valley was concerned Maryland again led in action. In that year the first regular

post was established between the Potomac River and Philadelphia, and one John Perry was post-rider and postmaster-general and apparently all the other officials rolled into one; a sublime focus of titles to make the magnificent Pooh-Bah curl with envy. Perry rode his horse, and collected and delivered letters, over his long route, *regularly*, eight times a year! Maybe that "regularly" is overstatement, for the colonial archives show that whenever there was a communication for the colonial officials of New York or Virginia, Perry was directed to bear it without any regard for his schedule.

This first mail route to touch the river was ordered "To begin at Newtons Point upon Wiccocomaco River in Potomack and so to proceed on to Allens Mill, from Allens Mill to Benedict Leonard Town, from Benedict Leonard Town over Petuxent River to Mr George Lingans, from Mr Lingans to Mr Larkin's and so to South River and Annapolis," and thence to Philadelphia. Three years of such strenuous travel winter and summer seems to have been the undoing of poor Perry and of the first effort at a postal system, for Perry abandoned the route and this life simultaneously at the end of that time, and it was some time before a successor was found willing to endure the hardships and brave the hazards of the billet.

Governor Spottswood of Virginia called attention to the necessity of a postal system in 1710 but apprehended that the great obstruction to it was "from the want of money fitt for Change, and to pass in paying the postage of Letters: there being now only Tobacco, which is a specie very incommodious to receive small payments in and of very uncertain value." He was,

however, as persevering as he was practical. In 1717 he had pony riders who maintained a monthly mail service between Williamsburg and Philadelphia. When, after twenty-one years, this astonishing development had lost its novelty, the indomitable old governor took up another hole in the postal belt and 1738 was the proud year when a letter travelled between these same two points in eight days. The time between the Susquehannah River and the Potomac River was three days, between the Potomac and Williamsburg four days.

There was rather too little privacy to this post system from a more modern standard. When the rider pulled up his steed at a landing, a tavern, or a store, he tossed the letters for the neighbourhood on a table or a counter for everyone's inspection and any one's selection. Hence the arrival of the post rider was not without interest to a larger section of the population than those who merely received letters. The day appointed for his coming usually found all the neighbourhood worthies, and unworthies, gathered at his stopping place. If few of them expected letters, many fed eagerly on the morsels of news from the letters of that fortunate few, or failing that, on the crumbs of gossip picked up in merely speculating on the evidence furnished by the address and seal.

The exact point of contact between the Potomac and the first through postal route between Philadelphia and Virginia is not quite clear. The most direct line would have been from Annapolis to Port Tobacco and across the river at Hooe's Ferry. But as this system was the creation of Virginia and under the direction of "the

Post-master General" of that colony, doubtless Alexandria was served and the crossing was made by the ferry at Georgetown so as to include another so important point. When in 1798 Nancy Lee of Chantilly married her cousin Charles Lee afterward Attorney-General of the United States, and settled with him in Alexandria, her father, at the time sitting in Philadelphia as first Senator from Virginia, wrote: "I expect Nancy will recommence her correspondence with me, now that she had come into the line of the Post. I wish to hear very particularly from her about Chantilly, Stratford, Bushfield, Walnut Farm, Berry Hill, etc."

The planters along the lower river found little practical local convenience in these post routes before the Revolution, and at nearly all times they continued to send letters forward by boat captains, travellers, or in certain important cases by a black boy on a swift horse.

The generally revealing Fithian is not without a glimpse of the devices to which the down-river folk were put when sending letters into other colonies. His particular effort was to communicate with his family and friends in New Jersey. He gave this direction for addressing him: "The Letters are to be directed to me thus, 'To M^{r} Philip V. Fithian at M^{r} *Carters* of Nominy, to be left at Hobb's Hole'." Hobb's Hole was on the Rappahannock River a few miles south of Nomini Hall. The address indicates that the post rider carried the letters from Philadelphia to Fredericksburg and then they found their way down the Rappahannock to the landing on that river nearest Nomini. Although in that connection Fithian said

"a Letter will come as secure by the Post as from Cohansie to Philadelphia," he seems to have felt obliged to devise other means about this time for communicating with New Jersey. For this purpose he had some sort of an arrangement with a friend in Baltimore. In his diary for March 29, 1774, he wrote: "Soon after breakfast I receiv'd a Letter from M[r] Andrew Bryan of Baltimore, Maryland formerly at College my Class Mate—the letter bears date January 21, 1774, Dated at Baltimore. He informs me of his good Health & that he shall soon forward my Letters inclosed to him." Thus, however slow, private carrier seems to have been the only truly dependable method of written communication between Nomini and Baltimore before the Revolution, for in another place Fithian noted: "This day the Person who carried my Letters to Baltimore returned without any Letters or Intelligence." Evidence there is that the delivery furnished by the postrider, however "secure," was not swift. On one July 27 Fithian received at Nomini letters from New Jersey dated July 7, July 2, June 24 and February 25 and 13. Yet he confessed: "For these Letters I paid 12s/5[d]—Pennsylvania Currency, & I very proud of my Bargain."

Sometimes when a slave boy brought a letter he was not only detained until an answer was prepared but he was carried along to another point where information of interest might develop for the reply. Thus Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly wrote Landon Carter: "Your boy overtook me yesterday on the way to my General Muster where I was detained until after Sunset. This morning I take the boy with me to Court where I

expect to receive letters from the North that if there should be any news you may receive it."

Newspapers and periodicals were slow to crowd the mail-bag. Just as all the early books came out from England into the river libraries so did most of the periodicals. There was, indeed, no newspaper convenient to the Potomac planter or at all likely to touch his domestic and social interests until William Parks supplied the descrepancy from far behind both shores. In 1727 Parks founded the Maryland *Gazette* and published it at Annapolis, and this came south to residents of the Maryland shore with some news of their interests. In 1736 he founded the Virginia *Gazette* and published it at Williamsburg and it became of local interest on the Virginia shore. Indeed both gazettes became of so much interest that that of Maryland was emulated by at least one other of the same name and that of Virginia soon found itself one of five gazettes to which the individual publisher in each instance prefixed his own name. The gazettes appeared intermittently, expiring with more lives than a cat. The publisher of Green's Maryland *Gazette* during the Stamp Act troubles issued a paper which he called "The Apparition of the Maryland *Gazette*, which is not dead but sleepeth." He, in common with most other colonial editors, refused to use the British stamp. In its stead appeared a death's head surrounded by the words: "The times are dismal, doleful, dolorous, dollarless." Another paper much valued by the planters who sought to keep in touch with the news of the rising tide of Revolution was the Pennsylvania *Gazette*, founded and published at Philadelphia in 1728 by

Samuel Keimer and soon after and until 1776 edited by Benjamin Franklin.

If these gazettes were published with varying regularity, an added touch of irregularity was added by the post riders before they reached the river plantations. Fithian complained in 1774: "We have no intelligence of the carryings on of the Congress; our Papers this Summer came vastly seldom, it is said that the Post Men are bribed & give away the News Papers."

In pioneering and in the early development of a notable civilization the river planters were genuinely progressive, but if the river valley could keep a pace set by itself it has not always since been equal to a pace set by others. There are points on the river, which until very recently, nearly three hundred years after the first post rider set out from its shore for the almost unimaginable distant Philadelphia, have sent and received their only communications by the boats that plough its waters.

CHAPTER XVII

Naval and Military Engagements—Indian Warfare—Bacon's Rebellion Began on the Potomac—General Braddock and his Army Sail up to Alexandria—The Potomac Navy in the Revolution—British Raiders—Levying on Mount Vernon—Pirates—1812-1814—Sigourney's Heroic Death—English Fleet Sails up to Attack the Capital—Battle of Belvoir—"Potomac Flotilla" in the Civil War—Blockade Running—Lincoln on the Potomac—Booth's Flight Across the River—Activities in the Great War.

THUS far the Potomac at peace. That is its prevailing characteristic, its most becoming mood. Yet it has staged scenes in nearly every important military conflict which has involved the Colonies and the nation since the Indians on its shores first saw with amazement men whose faces were so much paler than their own and who sailed across the sea in ships which could not possibly have been hewn from any forest giant known to the river.

The civil wars in England in the seventeenth century produced an echo on the Potomac in the fights among the Protestants, Puritans, and Catholics; the military activities incident to Bacon's Rebellion began on its Westmoreland shore; during the Revolution the English navy pillaged the river plantations, its ships spreading terror to the head of tidewater; in the second war with England in 1812-14 another British fleet ascended the river and the national capital was made the object of the enemy's attack; during the Civil War it became

the dividing line between the North and the South, its waters supported a naval flotilla, and it was the scene of the flight of Booth after the assassination of Lincoln; and during the recent great war it became a hive of preparation of officers and men, and not a single gun was mounted aboard our naval vessels that was not first fired across the proving range on the river.

The first great guns to salute the silent waters were those fired from the fort near St. Mary's, where the foreign ships were stopped for two whole tides. This was the only waterside fortification erected by the settlers until 1667 when Virginia authorized a fort opposite on the Yeocomico at Levy Point within command of which fort all ships trading in the Potomac "may conveniently and in all probability securely ride and road." That security, thus spoken of in the lame spelling of the old statute, such as it may have been, was given in the first instance by the purchase of "80 demy culverin round shot, of 4 inches diameter, 20 large & 20 cross-bar shot; 20 saker shot of 3 inches diameter, 5 large & 5 cross bar shot; 40 minion round shot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter; 10 large & 10 cross bar shot; 2 demi culverin ladles, 1 saker ladle, 1 minor ladle . . . & 20 firelock muskets."

Although Lord Baltimore's immigrants sailed into the Potomac to establish a haven from the religious strife in England, and toleration was the rudder of their ship of state, curiously it steered them straight into war. The story of Clayborne's possession of Kent Island, his refusal to give allegiance to the government at St. Mary's on the Potomac, the varying fortunes of his

fight over a period of twenty-five years which terminated finally in his defeat, is not wholly pertinent to the Potomac. But this feud brought the first military activity to the river in 1634 when Calvert dispatched from St. Mary's two armed pinnaces, commanded by Thomas Cornwallis of Cross Manor who returned victoriously with Clayborne's boat, and subsequent clashes when this rebel seized the capital and temporarily expelled Governor Calvert, and when Governor Stone's fated expedition sailed from St. Mary's to defeat at the mouth of the Severn. The Clayborne Rebellion was at core a religious matter, Puritan protest against a Catholic administration.

Coincident with these conflicts among the whites themselves were those which the whites waged with a common enemy of another colour who gave them additional reason to keep their powder dry. The somewhat understandable resentment of the Indian against the uninvited intrusion of the white man, who took his land and offered in exchange a strange yoke called civilization, was the cause of most of the military activity of the first settlers on both shores. It has been seen how the redmen made conclusive use of the tomahawk on Harry Spelman and his companions when his ship's guard fired a volley to frighten a boarding party, and how nearly all of the first powder was used to give the signal for the planters to bring their families into the forts when an Indian attack was imminent. For the further protection of the settlers both colonies built stockades to turn the Indians' arrows and soon organized militia and rangers who added somewhat to h e security of the plantations.

This interesting observation is made by R. H. Early in "By-Ways of Virginia History": "These assaults from savages occurred in those seasons when the weather was open and pleasant; at the fall of the year when frost and cold set in, the Indians would vanish from sight and sound. But at the approach of the second summer, the period known as *Indian Summer*, the savages were sure to reappear; and this delightful season, to which we look forward with so much pleasure, was anticipated then with inexpressible dread, because associated in the memories of the colonists with the second yearly inroad of the people, whose reappearance it heralded and from whom it derived its name."

The Indian warfare was at most, however, with the exception of Bacon's Rebellion, a guerilla warfare of depredation, theft, and resentment. It settled itself as the redskin retired before the rising tide of settlements to the mountains and beyond, his rude weapons no match for the powder and shot of the ingenious enemy. Bacon's Rebellion got its temper from English economic injustice to the colonies and its impetus from the necessity of chastizing the murderous Indians, but, curiously, the match which set it off was struck on the shores of the Potomac.

The earliest chronicler of this event was one Thomas Mathew, a Burgess from Stafford County on the Potomac, who until recently successfully screened himself under his initials, "T. M." "About the year 1657," wrote T. M., "appear'd three prodigies in that country, which from th' attending disasters, were looked upon as ominous presages. The one was a large comet

every evening for a week, streaming like a horse taile westwards, until it reach'd (almost) the horrison. . . . Another was, fflights of pigeons in breadth nigh a quarter of the midhemisphere, and of their length was no visible end; whose weight brake down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights, of which the ffowlers shot abundance and eat 'em; this sight put the planters under the more portentious apprehensions, because the like was seen (as they said) in the year 1640 when the Indians committed the last massacre, but not after, untill that present year 1675. The third strange appearance was swarms of fflyes about an inch long, and big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new sprouted leaves from the top of the trees without other harm, and in a month left us.

"My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest county on Potomack river, Stafford being the upmost, where having also a plantation, servants, cattle &c, my overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither, and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it; but on a Sabboth day morning in the summer anno. 1675, people in their way to church, saw this Hen lying thwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopped on their heads, arms and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchetts, th' Indian dead, but Hen when ask'd who did that? answered Doegs Doegs, and soon died, then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those murders.

"From this Englishman's bloud did (by degrees)

arise Bacons rebellion with the following mischiefs which overspread all Virginia and twice endangered Maryland, as by the ensuing account is evident."

Thereupon he tells how the riverside was aroused and parties under Colonel Mason and Captain Brent pursued the Indians up river and some they pursued across the river into Maryland where they killed many and captured the young son of the king of the Doegs, a lad of eight years. That which ensued is repeated in T. M.'s own terms:

"Collo. Mason took the king of the Doegs son home with him, who lay ten dayes in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shutt, no breath discern'd, but his body continuing warm, they believed him yett alive; th' aforenamed Capt. Brent (a papist) coming thither on a visit, and seeing his little prisoner languishing said 'perhaps he is pawewawd' i.e. bewitch'd, and that he had heard baptism was an effectuall remedy against witchcraft wherefore advis'd to baptize him Collo. Mason answered, no minister could be had in many miles; Brent replied yo'r clerk Mr. Dobson may do that office, which was done by the church of England liturgy; Collo. Mason with Capt. Brent godfather and Mrs. Mason godmother, my overseer Mr. Pimet being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all th' other persons (afterwards) affirm'd to me; the ffour men return'd to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it open'd the eyes, and breath'd, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more and so (by degrees) recovered, tho before his baptism, they had often tryed the same meanes but could not by no endeavors

wrench open his teeth. This was taken for a convincing proof against infidelity."

The Indians who had escaped across the river into Maryland returned and "killing whom they found" on their march around the head of the Rappahannock and the York, reached the James where "they slew Mr. Bacon's overseer, whom he much loved, and one of his servants, whose bloud hee vowed to revenge if possible." The immediate issue of these events was the uprising led by Nathaniel Bacon.

By far the most imposing military array the river had seen up to 1755 was the appearance in that year of Commodore Keppel's fleet bearing Major-General Edward Braddock, Generalissimo of H.B.M. Forces in America, and his army. The French had been threatening the Virginian frontier on the Ohio. Colonel Washington had left Mount Vernon in November, 1753, under the direction of Governor Dinwiddie to carry the royal protest to the encroaching French. It came to nothing and the following year young Washington had headed a military expedition of colonial volunteers which also fell short of the desired success. Though Virginia thanked Washington, England was alarmed and sent an army of British regulars under Braddock to wipe out the French.

Toward the end of March in that year of 1755 the planters opened their eyes to the sight of a fleet of English warships and transports sailing the length of tidewater to anchor off Alexandria. They brought Braddock and his army from England. Commodore Keppel's pennant flew from the *Norwich*, and among other ships known to have come up the river with him

THE POTOMAC RIVER FROM CAUSINE'S MANOR

Looking across the waters below the mouth of Port Tobacco Creek. Here John Wilkes Booth crossed the Potomac into Virginia after the assassination of President Lincoln.

were the *Sea Horse*, the *Nightingale*, and the *Garland*. The English forces numbered about 1,300.

When they disembarked at Alexandria, they united with additional colonial volunteers. The little city at once found itself the centre of a huge military encampment, gay with the scarlet tunics of the British soldiers, jolly tars "hitting the beach" for such frivolity as the town turned up, flying ensigns, prancing horses, rumbling cannon, and commissary wagons, and all the pomp and panoply of an army preparing to set off for a campaign. The Commander-in-Chief made his headquarters in Colonel Carlyle's house. Here he met young Washington, then in his twenty-third year, and invited him to join his staff. Here he assembled five of the Royal Colonial Governors in council to consider ways and means for conducting his campaign. Mixed with the councils, the drills, the parades, and other preparations for the great march westward, was a round of dinners and balls and concerts for the General, the Naval Commander, the Governors, the colonial officials and other notables who crowded the town.

This somewhat hectic condition lasted a fortnight. Then in spite of Washington's advice Braddock considered everything ready to begin the march from the Potomac to the Ohio. As the last of the columns disappeared through the hills to the northwest and the last of the emptied vessels rounded the point down stream opposite Warburton Manor, peace settled again over the little metropolis on the river.

The next time ships flying the Union Jack appeared here they brought terror and left destruction, but also

they took away scars inflicted by the Potomac Navy. The "Navy" was the creation of the Virginia Committee of Safety, and, except in theory, it appears not to have consisted of more than two galleys and three small vessels of which the largest scaled 110 tons, mounted 14-, 8-, and 4- pounders, carried ninety-six men and was called the *American Congress*. A naval magazine for the issue of provisions, supplies, and naval stores was established on an acre of ground at the head of Potomac Creek. What part the navy played in intercepting Lord Dunmore's expedition up the Potomac is not clear.

His fleet sailed into the river in mid-July, 1776. The larger ships were the *Fowey*, the *Roebuck*, the *Mercury*, and the *Otter*. Instantly the planters were in a panic. On July 21st Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly, just home from signing the Declaration of Independence, wrote his friend Landon Carter of Sabine Hall: "The enemy of everything good, has at length turned his steps to this river, on the north side of which we can every day see the smoke occasioned by his conflagrations. We learn that the people of Maryland are not quiet spectators of his proceedings, but that they have attacked and killed some of his people, and obliged the whole fleet to move its station. They are continually blasting away at each other. Last night I was engaged with a party of Militia expecting a visit from four of the enemy's Ships and 3 Tenders that appeared off this house about sunset. They are gone up the river, upon what errand I know not, unless to get water where the river is fresh, or to burn Alexandria."

Another notion prevailed that, General Washington being absent in Massachusetts, Dunmore intended to capture "Lady Washington" and burn Mount Vernon. He did, in fact, so terrorize the planters that many moved their families, their cattle, plate, and many other possessions back into "the forest." Dunmore landed near Aquia Creek, burned the residence of Mr. William Brent, and destroyed much valuable property. Thence he moved to Occoquon Creek. His appearance here was the signal for the abandonment of the great river houses above this point. George Mason of Gunston Hall sent his family "many miles back into the country" and he wrote General Washington that he had advised Mrs. Washington to do likewise: "At first she said, 'No, I will not desert my post,' but finally she did so with reluctance, rode only a few miles, and —plucky little woman as she is, stayed away only one night." But the whole river country was aroused and the militia of Prince William and Stafford did such excellent firing that the enemy was driven to their boats and returned on board the ships. A violent storm came up about this time and the fleet was obliged to retreat down to the bay.

When in 1779 the United States formed a treaty of alliance with France, that country sent a fleet to this side of the Atlantic. One of these ships, bearing despatches for the Congress, put in at Norfolk in August of that year. But the British were in its wake and threatened it, until it eluded them by slipping into the Potomac. The French ship came up river as high as Chantilly on the north lip of Nomini Bay where the captain and principal officers waited on Mr. Lee,

confided their information to him, and he sent it across the river and on to Philadelphia by private carrier.

Though the British almost continuously maintained a number of fighting ships in the Chesapeake during this war, to the nervous apprehension of the dwellers along the Potomac—in 1779 there were six such vessels—it would seem that it was not until the last year of the Revolution that they again sailed the river, terrorized the population, and entered into an encounter with the ships of the Potomac Navy. The first vessels appeared very early in the year 1781 and ascended as high as Mount Vernon. It would be interesting to know what were their threats against the home of the American Commander-in-Chief and the exact means taken by Lund Washington, in the absence of his employer, to save the mansion. The letter of the manager of the estate seems, however, to have been lost. One can guess at it only from the answer it drew. When the General received it he replied with a letter of regret and rebuke in which he said:

"I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my House and laid the Plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to preventing conflagration. It was not

in your power, I acknowledge, to prevent them from sending a flag on shore, and you did right to meet it; but you should, in the same instant that the business of it was unfolded, have declared explicitly, that it was impossible for you to yield to the request; after which, if they had proceeded to help themselves by force, you could have but submitted; and, (being unprovided for defense,) this was to be preferred to a feeble opposition, which only serves as a pretext to burn and destroy."

In May the enemy ships became so bold that many residents abandoned their homes for interior points. The Potomac planters called upon Congress for defensive ships in vain. Finally they equipped a ship of their own and sent it out to engage the enemy. On July 2d this brigantine, the *Ranger*, a privateer of 20 men and 7 guns, under Captain Thomas Simmons, sailed down river from Alexandria to hearten the population. Evidently the river was for the time clear for no one was encountered until Simmons reached the mouth of the St. Mary's. Here he was attacked by two "refugee" barges, 30 men to each boat or barge, under two well known characters, Anderson and Barnett. A desperate fight ensued, lasting three full hours, at the end of which time the enemy had lost 15 killed and 34 wounded and the disabled barges were obliged to sheer off. The *Ranger* lost only one man, but the captain, his second lieutenant, and several of the crew were severely wounded, and, as there was no medical officer aboard, the ship put back to Alexandria for surgical assistance.

This was the last military operation on the Potomac

during the Revolution. Four months later Washington's army sailed down the bay past the mouth of the river to join La Fayette at Yorktown. The Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by General-Comte de Rochambeau and General Comte de Chastellux, detached himself from the army at the head of the bay and crossed the Potomac above Mount Vernon, refreshing himself during a two-days' stop at his home.

Pirates appeared briefly in the river in July, 1782. They amounted "in white & black men to an hundred armed men," and operated apparently from bases across the lower bay. They robbed and pillaged and fired Northumberland homes, among them Colonel Presley Thornton's house, all without fear of a weak militia; attacked a "flower loaded brig in St. Mary's for Boston"; and threatened to import five hundred armed negroes from New York to extend their piracy. The marauders were commanded by "Whaling & Penny, two most notorious Pirates." They disappeared as mysteriously, and almost as quickly, as they came.

One of the earliest incidents in which lay the roots of the War of 1812 happened on the Potomac. In the crew of the U.S.S. *Chesapeake*, which in the spring of 1807 was outfitting at the Navy Yard, Washington, were three men who claimed American citizenship but who were demanded as deserters by the British Minister. The Government at Washington refused to deliver them. On the 22d of June the *Chesapeake* dropped down river and was on the point of sailing through the capes to the Mediterranean when it was halted and the three men were claimed by

British officers from H.M.S. *Leopard*. Again their delivery was refused. Whereupon the *Chesapeake* was successfully attacked and the men seized. Out of this and similar subsequent seizures grew the second war with England.

In the midst of the war, in the spring of 1813, a terror of apprehension seized the dwellers along the Potomac. Ships of the Royal Navy, under Sir John Bolase Warren, were cruising at the mouth of the river, pillaging and burning plantations and villages. There was no available defence worth the name and, if the enemy was ruthless, an indictment of equal severity stands against the politicians who left the country undefended. Vagrant detachments of troops patrolled the banks of the lower river and occasionally met the British landing parties. One such patrol was based on Yeocomico Creek and encamped itself about the ruins of Yeocomico Church. Among these soldiers was a New Jersey gentleman, Mr. W. L. Rogers of Princeton, and his interest in the abandoned edifice led to its restoration and to its survival to-day. This creek was also a base for two small American gunboats. Their operations were not important, but the death of the commander of one of them furnishes one of the picturesquely heroic incidents of our navy's history.

On July 14, 1813, a boat party from one of Warren's ships entered the river and attacked a three-gun sloop, the *Asp*, commanded by Midshipman J. B. Sigourney, moored in Yeocomico Creek, with the odds five to one against the Americans. A "murderous conflict" ensued in which eight British and ten Americans including both commanders were killed or wounded. Beaten off, the

enemy soon returned for a second attack and boarded the *Asp*. They found Sigourney, weak from his wounds received in the first encounter, but unwilling to seek cover below, seated on deck, propped against the mast, animating his men with his example. A British marine approached him and shot him through the head. The *Asp* was fired and the enemy retreated. But Midshipman Henry M. McClintock, succeeding to the command, rallied his men, extinguished the flames, and put the ship again in fighting order. The men then turned to their dead commander and buried him on the shore in the grounds of the Bailey family whose descendants have ever since attended the grave of the young hero.

The next year there appeared such a fleet as had not been seen in the river since Braddock and his army arrived from England. The British had determined to attack the national capital and destroy its public buildings. To this end one section of the fleet had ascended the Patuxent in the month of August and, landing at Benedict, crossed to Bladensburg where they defeated the disorganized American forces and on the 24th descended unopposed on Washington City. Burning the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings was an easy matter, and having accomplished this the enemy retreated. To the credit of General Ross it must be said that he had little enthusiasm for this outrage on the sensibilities of the nation. Kidney for the crime was supplied by Admiral George Cockburn, a nephew of the peaceful Martin Cockburn of Springfield some twenty miles down river in Mason's Neck.

Coincident with these operations the other section of the enemy's fleet appeared in the Potomac. In this expedition, under the command of Captain James Alexander Gordon, R.N., were the *Sea Horse*, the *Euryalus*, the *Devastation*, the *Aetna*, the *Meteor*, the *Erebus*, the *Fairy*, and the *Anna Maria*. By reason of their ignorance of the channel, of several groundings, of at least one severe storm and of harassment by some desultory land batteries, Gordon was ten days in reaching Fort Washington opposite Mount Vernon.

It was at the time a fort in name only although President Washington had recommended the point on Warburton Manor as a proper situation for a strong fortification for the defense of the proposed "Federal City." Little was done, however, until President Madison sent Major l'Enfant to "Fort Warburton," as it was then called, in May, 1813. He reported "a delapidated condition of the fort and the armanent" and "that the whole original design was bad," and made new plans which survive in the now antiquated bastions. General Wilkinson described Fort Washington as "a mere water battery of 12 or 15 guns bearing upon the channel in the ascent of the river, but useless the moment a vessel had passed. This work was situated at the foot of a steep declivity, from a summit of which the garrison of which could have been driven out by musketry; but this height was protected by an octagonal block house, built of bricks and of two stories altitude which, being calculated against musketry only, could be knocked down by a twelve pounder." The officer in command was one of the map-making or topographical corps, and it has been pleaded in

extenuation of his conduct that, although Captain Napier of the *Euryalus* reported the guns constituted "a most respectable defense," there was inadequate ammunition. The commander believed a defense impossible, and, according to some authorities, acting under a misconstruction of orders to blow up the fortifications if attacked "from the rear," he destroyed the works and spiked the guns, and retreated to fight with the land forces in the engagement at Bladensburg. The English were naturally astonished at the early silence of the fort, and without the loss of a man found their way open to advance on Alexandria and Washington.

Gordon was too late to participate in the attack on the capital but he ascended to Alexandria where he anchored on the 27th and dictated severe terms to the undefended city. His booty was too big to bear off, so he burned one vessel and, loading the others until their freeboards had almost disappeared, returned down river. On the ascent Gordon had found the enemy of little trouble but the elements were particularly nasty. As he headed south the reverse was true: with the weather fair he found the enemy snapping at his heels from many points along both shores.

Commodore Porter, U.S.N., with a light battery of thirteen guns followed Gordon's squadron on the Virginia shore, attacking whenever he could get in gun reach. Finally, he made a last stand on the wooded heights of Belvoir. Gordon's ships mustered 173 guns. Porter achieved no decisive success, yet it is creditable to his leadership and the pluck of his men that with

such odds they held the enemy up for five days before they swept farther down river. This action is known as the Battle of Belvoir. At Indian Head the British found Commodore O. H. Perry, U.S.N., in command of a land battery, but his hastily improvised equipment and wholly inadequate force offered them little embarrassment. The only other trouble they encountered was made by Captain John Rodgers, U.S.N., with the crews of two 44's which were then building. There were no results; the means were insufficient. Rodgers attempted ineffectually on two occasions to destroy one of the British vessels with fire ships and once he repelled an attack from Gordon's sailors. With Rodgers out of his path Gordon sailed on, out of the river, after twenty-three days between its banks, and at a cost of seven killed and thirty-five wounded. The expedition was futile and the losses unnecessary.

During the long stretch of years between the second war with England and our own Civil War the river was innocent of fighting, but in the winter of 1844 it was the scene of a tragedy which in certain features is unmatched in our naval annals. In February of that year the new United States Frigate, *Princeton*, was brought up the Potomac and anchored off Alexandria for the inspection of the federal officials at the capital. The navy was proud of the new vessel which was the first propeller ship built for this branch of the service. It was proud, too, of the great gun, Peacemaker, a 225-pounder, mounted on the *Princeton's* deck. On February 28th a large party of government officials, including the President of the United States and his cabinet, accepted Commodore Stockton's invitation

to spend the day on the new ship of war and cruise a short way down the river. When opposite Mount Vernon a salute to George Washington was fired from the Peacemaker. Later, when opposite the mouth of Broad Creek on the return trip, Commodore Stockton consented to fire the great gun a second time. A numerous party was on deck. As the gun was fired the breech was blown off and this end was split in halves. The toll of dead and wounded was not so significant in numbers as in the character of the victims. Among the killed were: Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of State; Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; Commodore Kennon of the Navy; Representative Virgil Maxey of Maryland, then lately returned from diplomatic duty at The Hague; Representative Sykes of New Jersey, and Mr. Gardiner, a New York legislator. President Tyler directed that the dead be brought to the White House whence they were taken for burial on March 2d.

On the outbreak of the Civil War the Potomac took on a new rôle. The Confederates considered it the boundary between the northern and the southern states. The Federal Government refused to acknowledge the existence of separate groups of states or even that the river was to be the boundary between the two armies. So far as the Potomac above the Falls is concerned, history seems impartial, for the waters were crossed time and again by both armies. Thousands, hundreds of thousands, of the blue soldiers and the gray soldiers passed over it by ford and bridge and barge. The Potomac of the landings played a comparatively minor but interesting part in the great struggle.

The defense of Washington attracted troops from the North early in 1861. Conferate sympathizers beyond Baltimore destroyed the rail connections, and a large proportion of the army of defense was obliged to steam down the bay from Perryville and up the Potomac to the capital. The Confederates placed batteries on the heights of Arlington and on the hills on that side of the river both above and below Washington. Fort Foote on the Maryland shore just south of Alexandria, Fort Washington, and several of the down-river Maryland points were fortified by the Federal Administration, and armed vessels of the Federal Navy, known as "the Potomac Flotilla," took up a position near the mouth based on St. Mary's River. However much it may have appeared that a significant portion of the war was going to be fought on the Potomac, that was not to be.

Virginia approved her ordinance of Secession on May 23d. This was the signal for the most extensive and decisive military activity on the river during this war. Simultaneously the next day Union troops crossed the Aqueduct and Long Bridges at Washington and cleared the Confederates from Arlington and the adjacent hills, and Union troops landed at Alexandria under the protection of the gunboat *Pawnee* and occupied that city. The only other significant Confederate defenses on tidewater were at and in the neighbourhood of Aquia Creek, Potomac Creek, Mathias Point, and Coan River, and there were frequent exchanges between these batteries and the Federal gunboats during the summer and autumn of 1861.

The batteries at Aquia Creek were important to the

defense of the northern terminus of the railroad to Fredericksburg and Richmond. Here took place the first naval engagement of this war on the river, at the end of May in 1861, when the U.S. gunboats *Thomas Freeborn*, *Anacostia*, *Pawnee*, and *Resolute* made an ineffectual effort to destroy the Aquia batteries. The next year the control of this creek passed without struggle into the hands of the Federals, and in the Battle of Fredericksburg they were reinforced by troops brought down river to this landing point for transfer to the railroad. After that battle the Federals went into winter camp along the railroad north of Fredericksburg, basing on Aquia Creek whence they received supplies by the river.

The Mathias Point defenses were troublesome to the Potomac Flotilla as they provided security to Confederates and their sympathizers crossing the river at this point and were believed to be a signal base in communication with Maryland. On June 27th the *Thomas Freeborn*, Commander James H. Ward, U.S.N., and the *Reliance* covered a landing party of fifty men at Mathias Point. They found themselves overwhelmed by fifteen companies of volunteers but effected an orderly retreat, and the engagement would be scarcely worth mentioning if it were not made conspicuous by the first death of a naval officer in action in this war, Commander Ward.

President Lincoln and those about him witnessed one of the first poignant spectacles of the war July 22d, the day after the defeat of the Union troops in the first important battle of the Civil War at Bull Run, the small tributary of the Potomac feeding Occoquon Creek.

The defeated army began to march in from Virginia before dawn. All day long the ranks of the men in blue defiled across the river over the Long Bridge. All day long and far into the night, under a leaden sky and through a drizzling rain, the tramp, tramp, tramp of feet and the hollow rumble of wheels echoed over the water. "But the hour, the day, the night passed," wrote Walt Whitman, "and whatever returns, an hour, a day, a night like that can never return. The President, recovering himself, begins that very night—sternly, rapidly sets about the task of reorganizing his forces, and placing himself in position for future and surer work. . . He endured that hour, that day, bitterer than gall—indeed a crucifixion day—but it did not conquer him—he unflinchingly stemmed it and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it."

Throughout the war the river was the scene of thousands of secret passages between loyal Maryland and seceding Virginia. Along the left bank, however, were the homes of many whose sympathies were on the other side. Their houses were secret havens for despatch bearers, spies, and carriers of contraband. On many a clear night lights twinkled from windows and from landings on one side with a meaning understood on the other. And when the night was less clear and a fog obscured the distance or a rain came with its protecting patter, a boat would glide out from shore, oars muffled, into the enveloping mist. More often than not the other shore was reached in safety. Too often, however, so the victims believed, their seeming success was intercepted by the hail of a flotilla guard, which, unless answered promptly, was followed by the

spitting of musketry or the red flame of a ship's howitzer. Then the command: "Hands up and stop rowing!" a hurried scramble to the quarter deck, and an exchange of wits which ended somewhere in the tragic latitude between a return to the interrupted skiff and a bandage over the eyes, a flash from the muskets of the firing squad, and a dull drop to the deck of another spy caught in work which was dastardly or heroic by points of view.

Three times the Potomac was the pathway of President Lincoln. His last and probably his most significant trip was made in the spring of 1865 when he embarked in Washington on the *River Queen* and steamed the length of the Potomac and into the James to join Grant below Richmond just before it fell.

As the President passed Port Tobacco Creek there rocked at its moorings just inside its mouth a boat which was intended to play an important part in a scheme of abduction which was laid but never hatched. The plan briefly stated by Thomas A. Jones, who lived on the river and whose part in one of its most picturesque incidents will presently appear, was this: "The President, when he went for his customary evening drive toward the Navy Yard, was to be seized and either chloroformed or gagged, and driven quietly out of the city. If in crossing the Navy Yard bridge the carriage should be stopped, the captors would point to the President and drive on. The carriage was to be escorted out of the city by men dressed in Federal uniforms. Relays of fast horses were in readiness all along the route, and a boat in which to take the captive across the Potomac was kept on the west side of Port Tobacco Creek, about three and a half miles below the

town of the same name. . . . The idea of the conspirators was that with such a hostage in its power the Confederacy would be able to dictate terms to the North. . . . There were quite a number of persons in this abduction conspiracy; prominent among whom were the actor, John Wilkes Booth, and his friend, John H. Surratt. . . . I do not think the abduction plan was given up until Booth killed his victim instead of capturing him."

In the after cabin of the *River Queen,* so well known to all later dwellers on the river, the President, while on the James, gathered the military leaders of the Union, among them General Grant, General Sherman, and Admiral Porter, in one of his most famous though informal war conferences. He returned to Washington as he had left it. Those days on the Potomac were Lincoln's last outside of the capital at the head of its tidal waters. Four days later he was dead by a bullet from a weapon in the hands of Booth.

When Booth escaped from Ford's Theatre, the scene of the assassination, he fled across the city to the Anacostia branch of the river where he was joined by one David E. Herold who was to guide him to the boat moored in Port Tobacco Creek by which he intended to make his escape into Virginia and anticipated security. In leaping from the President's box, however, he had fractured one of his legs and the pain it gave him on his way to Port Tobacco caused him and his companion to turn eastward for treatment at the home of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, near Bryantown. There the fugitives spent the night and in the morning hurried forward on horseback warned by the word that soldiers were

as near as Bryantown searching for the assassin. After hiding for six days and nights in woods on the Cox farm on the highland beyond the head of Pope's Creek, they were on Friday night led by the Jones quoted above to a thirty-foot rowboat of his which was hidden in Pope's Creek and were directed on their way through the darkness of a moonless night to Upper Machodac Creek across the river. But a flood tide was running, too strong for one pair of oars, and Booth's boat was swept up river and back on the Maryland shore west of Port Tobacco Creek near Nanjemoy Stores. The fugitives hid during Saturday. In the night following they succeeded in crossing the river and landing on the Virginia shore where sympathizers took them to Dr. Richard Stuart at Cedar Grove. His reception was not cordial, and Booth pressed on south across the Rappahannock to the home of Richard H. Garnett in whose barn he was shot to death by a Federal soldier.

The final incident in this historic tragedy carries to that point of land on the southern extremity of Washington City between the Anacostia River and the harbour, on which for scores of years have stood the buildings of the Washington Barracks. Far back in the trees, until 1868, stood the old penitentiary in which Booth's fellow conspirators were confined during their trial and near where, on this same reservation, they were hanged till dead on July 7, 1865.

In the recent Great War the part played by the river included more than the setting it furnished at Washington for the vital decisions at the Capitol and the White House which determined the rôle which the United States should play. The entire upper half of tidewater

was a hive of preparation whose results were felt by the enemy more than three thousand miles away. In addition to Camp Meigs and American University Camp in the City of Washington, there was an immense officers' training camp at Fort Meyers adjacent to Arlington; an extensive flying base on the Anacostia River; Belvoir and contiguous lands became Camp Humphreys for the training of army engineers, with a capacity of over 27,000 men; Quantico was transformed into the Marine Corps' principal and permanent training station with a capacity of over 12,000 men; and the Naval Proving Grounds at Indian Head continued to play the peculiar rôle which has distinguished it since it was founded in 1892. Here has been tested all the armour plate which has found its way into the hulls of our sea fighters. Here every one of the guns that stands to-day on the decks of our men-of-war was first tested, and the hills that bank the river hereabout have echoed to more great-gun fire probably than has any other spot under United States jurisdiction. The monster guns that found their way to the battle line in France, transferred from decks to mobile railway mounts, as much to the surprise of our allies as of the enemy, first set the hills about Indian Head reverberating with their trial detonations as the shells screamed down the river range as far as Potomac Creek. Another similar military operating base which grew out of the last war was the newer proving ground on the Virginia shore south of Mathias Point named for Admiral Dahlgren. Its range is even more remarkable than that at Indian Head where the whole course of the shell is over the Potomac in full

view from the gun. The main Dahlgren Range takes an easterly course across the peninsula between the Potomac and the Chesapeake, and shells fired from this base fall in the bay at points unseen from the gun, directed by spotters on the Bay who also signal when the waters are safely cleared for action.

Official Photo., U. S. Naval Air Service.

QUANTICO, VIRGINIA

Principal Camp of the United States Marine Corps

CHAPTER XVIII

The River To-day—From Landing to Landing—Remains, Ruins, and Restorations—Where All Postal Cancelling Stamps Are Made—Fishing for Champagne—An Aeroplane Pioneer—Ship Ceremonies Passing Mount Vernon—Panorama about the Last Landing.

THE Potomac of to-day can be truly known only by the pilgrim who steers his boat into the broad mouth and rides the whole course of the tide until the force of the "ffreshes" halts him at the foot of the monument to that son of the river who is the nation's greatest glory.

However high such a traveller may ferret the meanders of each particular creek, however often he may tie up at the landings and tramp the shores, he will see least if he looks only for what the waterside now presents to the eye. Often he must call history to kindle the imagination, for to-day the river is a blend of old and new, of past and present, of ruin and restoration and modern magnificence. Along nearly all its length it is the past which will engage the greater interest and furnish the keener delights. Only at the head of tidewater, at the last and latest landing, is the present paramount, a visible tangible climax to the three-century-long story.

Since such a proper acquaintance begins where the river ends, such a pilgrim to the Potomac will approach it from the Chesapeake between the distant beacons of

Smith Point on the left and Point Lookout on the right. The distance between the low wooded shores behind these lighthouses is so great, varying between six and seven miles, that no details are visible from midstream. However, if a landing is made behind Point Lookout a monument will be found there among the pines on the sandy spit which marks the site of a Federal prison during the Civil War. It is more interesting at first to follow this Maryland shore westward some ten miles to the mouth of the first really large estuary on this side, the St. Mary's River. The course is past a shore which includes the manors of St. Michael, St. Gabriel, Trinity, and, on the point between Smith's Creek and St. Mary's, of St. Elizabeth.

Entering the St. Mary's River the course is due north between more intimate banks which roll back gently to heights of nearly one hundred feet. Seen when the trees are clothed with their foliage and the fields are green with growing crops, the beauty of the valley is witness to Captain Harry Fleet's judgment in leading Lord Baltimore's pilgrims to this spot for their earliest settlement, and to Father White's report that "the place abounds not alone with profit, but also with pleasure." Fort Point, now long without its fort, is inconspicuous just inside the mouth on the right; Priest's Point with the Jesuit residence defines itself rather more conspicuously on the south lip of the mouth of St. Inigoes' Creek, on whose south bank may be seen Cross Manor house; and on the left is the mouth of Carthagena Creek and above, snuggling in the tree, is Porto Bello house, two names which recall the West Indian adventures of the young Potomac colonists.

The point of greatest interest, however, lies dead ahead where a landing beckons invitingly from the right bank.

This landing heads on the shore where once stood St. Mary's City. This pastoral point was once the focus of the civil life of all Maryland. At anchor in the waters before the city rode vessels from all parts of Maryland, from the other colonies, from the West Indies, and from England. Hither to court, council, and assembly came the colonists from beyond the head of tidewater Potomac, even beyond the head of the Chesapeake itself. To-day the level green fields edged with forest growths give no trace of the once-important and considerable colonial capital. The State House, the Palace of St. John's, the jail, the taverns, shops, and mansions are as completely gone as if they had never been there. Even the name of the old city has disappeared. The landing is known as Brome's, after the neighbouring family. On the point where stood the historic Mulberry Tree, the State House, and the buildings at the west end of Middle Street are now: a shaft to the memory of Governor Leonard Calvert and the first adventurers of Lord Baltimore's colony; Trinity Episcopal Church in the midst of the graves of more recent worthies; and the buildings of St. Mary's Seminary, a state memorial on the spot where civilization and toleration were first planted on the Potomac.

On the Virginia shore directly opposite the mouth of the St. Mary's is Coan River, the first important estuary above Smith Point. Its shores are low, but its waters admit steamers directly at the bank-side, which is no less fortunate than curious for the Coan is so

narrow that a steamer can turn between its banks only under the nicest helmsmanship. There is in this neighbourhood a suggestion of Holland as the sails of the schooners and the black funnels and white cabin-decks of the steamers appear to be moving through green fields as they follow the winding channel between the low banks. On the first elevation to the east in the shadow of its sheltering trees may be seen the pillars of Mantua, step-child of old Northumberland House of earliest days. There are no traces of those first settlers on the Virginia shore of the Potomac who came from Maryland to the banks of the Coan.

Here and in the sinuous tentacles of the Yeocomico, only six miles west, is the heart of the river's fishing and oyster trade. The landings are numerous, and evidence of the staple product is revealed in the miniature white hills of bleached oyster shells along the shores and, on some of the points, in giant skeleton spools big as the fishermen's cottages, on which they wind and dry their nets. The most considerable water-side village in the first fifty miles of the Virginia shore is Kinsale, hidden around the sweeps and behind the numerous points in the West Yeocomico. On the south bank of this estuary may be seen the monument which perpetuates the memory of brave Sigourney of the *Asp*, above whose grave it rises. To the west of the Yeocomico but screened from it by the forest may be found that most venerable of all Potomac houses of worship, Yeocomico Church. At the head of the South Yeocomico, some six miles from the Potomac proper, is Lodge Landing, whose distinction is that here have lived and operated the father and sons who for many years have

made their impression on every single bit among the myriad of items mailed in these United States, for here they have cut all the dies and all the type for all the cancelling stamps and all the dating stamps in use in every post office under the American postal system.

The intensive fishing of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River, without requisite restocking, has diminished the value of the fishing shores above the Yeocomico to a fraction of their earlier worth. Above this point stakes do still protrude above the water in long lines across the channel banks, indicative of the submerged trap nets, and at night during the season when the shad runs the shimmer of the gillers' lanterns on the floats at the net ends still indicate that some individual efforts are made to harvest this native of the river. As a significant industry, however, fishing is now confined largely to the waters nearer the mouth of the river. If the shad and sturgeon are no longer present in the upper reaches in great quantities there is nevertheless an interesting and extensive variety of fish as far up even as the waters in the neighbourhood of the District of Columbia. The Biological Society of Washington records the actual presence here, some in numerous species, of sturgeon, herring, shad, white perch, sun-fish, bass, perch, darters, catfish, eel, lamprey, and brook trout. In rare instances salmon, shark, and porpoises have appeared in the Potomac.

Returning to the channel of the great river and making a westerly course, the voyager sights a light-house conspicuous on the Maryland shore in the distance above the broad, wind-chopped waters. It stands on Piney Point at the southern end of flat

land which once was Evelynton Manor. A stark, barrack-like hotel and cottages paralleling a hedge of pines disclose its modern character of waterside summer resort. At all seasons, however, Piney Point marks what, in one sense, is to the steamboat fraternity "the mouth of the river," for it is here that the incoming vessel picks up its pilot to thread it up the tricky channel of the tidal course and here it drops him on its way out to the Bay or beyond. For pilotage between Piney Point and landings above a pilot is paid a fixed sum per foot of the towed ship's draught.

Farther west and across the river on the still low Virginia shore is Ragged Point Light warning vessels off the shoals about the land that once belonged to that gorgeous braggart, Dick Cole. Behind the shore from Yeocomico to Ragged Point are the remnants of the plantations of Sandy Point, Springfield, Wilton, and Pecatone. Northward on the Maryland elevation behind the first bottom lands stands Mulberry Fields, more easily picked out in the reflection of the sharp rays of the afternoon sun. Lower Machodac opens on the nearer immediate left, but the surviving Glebe house on its banks belongs to the neighbourhood which clusters about Nomini Creek next above. The entrance to Nomini is broad, and about it stood that notable group of houses whose life Fithian, naïve as Boswell, did so much to keep vivid. On the left at the water's level may be seen Bushfield, one of the old Washington estates. The mansion that housed the gay colonials disappeared years ago but there is a beautiful replacement on the original foundations. The high ground on the right is the site of Chantilly, home of

Richard Henry Lee, "the Cicero of the Revolution." Entering the narrows of the creek itself are found the sites of Nomini Church, of Hickory Hill of the Turbervilles and, with no other survival than an ancient avenue of poplars, of Nomini Hall of Councillor Robert Carter. A short drive east is the post village of Hague about which are the lands of Lee Hall and Mount Pleasant, and in the burying ground of Burnt House Field is the tomb of Richard Lee, son of the immigrant. A road to the west of Nomini leads off toward the home of all the Lees at Stratford Hall. This great baronial pile, so rich in memories priceless to Virginia and to the nation, still stands supported by its village of brick outbuildings awaiting the hand that will restore it to its original splendour. Newly grown forests cut off the view of the Potomac, but potentially no house has a finer command of the water, standing back on the heights of Nomini Cliffs, before which the river spreads like a great lake across whose waters the Maryland hills are bathed in the blues and purples of great distance.

Between Nomini Creek and the head of Bretton Bay there is a ferry which puts Westmoreland at one end of a fine Maryland motor road and within sixty miles of Washington. Crossing the river here the Maryland shores are scarcely less historic than those in Virginia. At the head of the corkscrew course of Bretton Bay behind its thin screen of foliage is Leonardtown, putting its best foot forward with the interesting, somewhat Italian façade of Tudor Hall in sight on the high bank above the landing. Leonardtown is the county seat of St. Mary's County and the most important com-

munity in southern Maryland. The long narrow peninsula stringing between Bretton Bay and St. Clement's Bay is Newton Neck or Beggar's Neck, the lands of Little Bretton Manor. The Jesuits have a conspicuous church and residence here with what significance the curious may find in its being opposite Protestant Point, and evidence remains of that old burying ground which William Bretton donated "with the hearty good liking" of Temperence, his wife.

At the mouth of St. Clement's Bay the remnant of Heron Island disappears at high tide, but near by and overshadowing it is Blackistone Island, originally St. Clement's, the Plymouth Rock of Maryland, anchorage of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, where the first colonists on the river awaited the issue of Governor Calvert's voyage in the pinnaces to the Emperor of the Piscataways. This island together with the smaller islands beyond to the west were all a part of the vast St. Clement's Manor which covered so much of the neck between St. Clement's Bay and the Wicomico. On this neck on the brow of the highlands of the Wicomico is Bushwood, and beyond it stood Thomas Notley's manor house. A cruise up this estuary discovers many interests. Chaptico Bay reaches eastward with the spire of Christ Church in the waterside village of Chaptico. A tradition has grown up in the neighbourhood that Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's, London, designed this edifice. The Wren tradition attaches to other colonial buildings in tidewater, but in some way it has become somewhat detached from its supporting evidence and can be offered only for what it may be found to be worth. Tramping the low, uneven

roads about the marshy head of the Wicomico one recalls that here was the terminus of that first mail route between Philadelphia and the South. Here was the trail of Perry and his pouches, until he laid them down and laid himself beside them unequal to the hard struggle with the elements, those underfoot doubtless more formidable than those overhead.

Returning south on the Wicomico, a short cut up the Potomac for shallow-draft boats is found behind Cobb's Island through the waters of Neale's Sound. There is an echo in this latter name. It is the only surviving reminder of that great family whose Wollestan Manor lands lay along this shore, and recalls Captain James Neale and his wife—he a king's agent in the Spanish peninsula and she a lady-in-waiting to a queen. It seems indeed to have been on the cards at one time that Wollestan should become the asylum of this same Queen Henrietta Maria. Shortly after the beheading of her husband, Charles I, she was on the point of sailing with the new governor of Lord Baltimore's colony to the Potomac, and no likelier refuge could be imagined than the home of her lady-in-waiting and her husband's agent. At the same time Maryland narrowly escaped coming under the jurisdiction of one who claimed to be the natural son of William Shakespeare, for that new governor referred to was Sir William Davenant who set sail for the Potomac but turned his ship back.

In the centuries intervening since Wollestan passed, another generation of houses has arisen and aged under mellowing traditions. Among the survivals here are Hard Bargain, Mount Republic, West Hatton, and

Charleston. The last is at Wicomico waterside and its richest traditions cluster about the days of the first half of the nineteenth century when its owner, Daniel Jenifer, at one time our minister to Austria, varied his long absences farther up river in his seat in the Congress with card-playing, hard-drinking house-parties. Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and other congressional cronies came down to Charleston for these larks. "Fishing trips" they called them. Jenifer did not disappoint them of at least one "catch." It is still repeated in the neighbourhood how, after a night at cards, the host would suggest that the poles and lines were waiting for them at the landing. At dawn they would adjourn from the card tables to the shore. Each found his pole and line in position, the hook baited and in the water. On signal, all hauled in, confident of a catch, and there were no disappointments. Securely hooked at the end of each line was a bottle of champagne.

It is from this point upward that the Potomac's interest is increasingly a blend of the present with the remote past and of all the years between. The vast neck between the Wicomico and the great river is now almost wholly united in the ownership of Mr. Robert Crain, whose home, Mount Victoria, crowns the hills, and whose block of fifteen thousand acres is a model of a modern stock farm and more nearly than any other place on the river approximates in size at least some of the larger colonial plantations.

The entrance to Pope's Creek on the Virginia side is behind a marshy bank, narrow and hard to find. But the beauty of the land-locked waters repays a visit,

and here is found a shaft which reminds the visitor that in Wakefield House, long since disappeared from the waterside, was born the boy who was later to become "first in the hearts of his fellow citizens." Five miles above, at modern Colonial Beach, whose cottages and hotels and shore are dedicated to the excursionist, is the landing nearest to the birthplaces of two other presidents, James Munroe who was born on the shore of the Potomac and James Madison who was born a few miles farther back in the country at Port Conway in Westmoreland County.

Above this point the river contracts to a width of two to three miles. The detonation of the guns of Dahlgren, as their shells screech overland to their target in the Chesapeake, calls attention to this great Proving Ground just below Mathias Point. At the water's edge on the opposite shore, where the hills open slightly to admit the tide into Pope's Creek in Maryland, may be seen the smoke of the only locomotives to reach this side of the Potomac below the District of Columbia. Here it was that John Wilkes Booth's boat crept out from the dark shore on the night that the assassin fled across the river to southern hospitality and found retribution's bullet at the hands of the Union soldier.

Although the river doubles back sharply on Mathias Point in a southwesterly direction, it appears, as one sails up with the tide, before turning Mathias, to extend indefinitely toward the north. The illusion is created by the long stretch of Port Tobacco Creek. At the head of this estuary are the remnants of Port Tobacco Town, once the county seat, with crumbling hints of its earlier distinction. This spectral village

centres in a notable group of celebrated houses, among which still stand St. Thomas Manor, La Grange, Rose Hill, Habredeventure, and the restoration of Mulberry Grove.

Beyond Mathias Point light the right shore is Nanjemoy neighbourhood and the left is Chotank of olden times. The Virginia river bottom lands are broad and push the house-dotted highlands far back from the water's edge. These hills are haunted by generations of Fitzhughs, from plate-loving William of Bedford to his descendants of to-day who sit proudly under the portraits of their ancestors, but few of the colonial houses remain. Discussing the soil on these hills one of the present-day planters, surveying the far-flung river valley from his hill-top portico, ignoring the incomparable beauty of the scene and mindful only of the worn-out condition of the soil, complained softly, the nearest thing to a twinkle possible in his tired eyes: "The land is so poor that if they don't put fertilizer in a man's grave with him he won't come up on the last day."

These are not the only sections of the river shores which reflect the golden past but faintly, like the faded effigies in the old daguerreotypes. However, the fine lines, the inherent distinction, and the traces of the colouring of the original may still frequently be seen. For many eyes, indeed, age has not merely softened but beautified many aspects of the survivals. While much is missing, Time seems to have thrown a glow akin to a halo about that which remains.

Turning Maryland Point there are at the mouth of Potomac and Aquia creeks reminders of the Indians

who gave the river its name, of generations of colonial worthies whose seats stood hereabouts, and, especially in the crumbling piles of the old landings, of Civil War fighting for possession of the railroad head before and after the battle at near-by Fredericksburg. Above Aquia the railroad abandons the forests and comes intimately to the river's edge, holding its course there almost continuously until it disappears again about fifteen miles north behind the waters of Occoquon Bay. The vast Marine Barracks of Quantico distinguish the middle distance. These waters, however, have an earlier though still modern interest, because it was to this stretch, off Widewater, that President Cleveland came to fish and Professor Langley came to make aeroplane history when his model of a heavier-than-air plane flew three thousand feet in one minute and a half. His succeeding effort here to fly the full-sized man-carrying plane built after this model failed to rise and broke the hope of this great scientist. But later Curtiss demonstrated the fundamental correctness of Langley's theories by reassembling this same machine and driving it into the air. To-day this identical Langley machine hangs in the National Museum up river at Washington, an enshrined pioneer of aviation.

At the head of Quantico Creek are the remains of old Dumfries, hidden from the water but strung along either side of the motor road which parallels the river on this side from Washington to Fredericksburg. The promontory three miles above, behind which the trains rush as they leave the river's edge, is Freestone Point, on which stood Leesylvania, birthplace of General

"Light-Horse Harry" Lee and, during the nineteenth century, one of the Potomac homes of the Fairfaxes. The opening on the opposite side of the river is Mattawomen Creek to whose landings the leisurely steamers still nose a way. On its shore are the grave and monument of General William Smallwood. Along the hillsides next above Mattawomen is the Naval Proving Ground of Indian Head, easily distinguished at the point where two tall chimneys prick the horizon. The creek above Freestone Point is Occoquon, object of Davis's rhapsodies, and at the falls is the ancient village of Occoquon still clinging to the rocky hillsides.

Above these places the river, along a stretch of about fifteen miles, describes a tall slender letter S. On the left in the first bend is Mason's Neck. Gunston Hall on the highland is rarely visible except to a practised eye. More conspicuous to the passer-by, after turning the Neck, on the same ridge and just above the meeting of the river and Gunston Cove, are the white galleries of Overlook, built shortly after the middle of the last century. At the head of Gunston Cove are Pohick Creek and Accotink Creek, Washington's parish church hidden among the trees in the hills above the former creek from which it takes its name, and the post village of Accotink at the head of the latter creek of its name. Looking back from Gunston Cove, in rounding the red buoy which marks the channel bank, Mount Aventine may be seen on the Maryland hills.

The banks again grow closer from here up, and the high places reach near to the water's edge. The shores are often not more than a mile apart. The peninsula between Gunston Cove and Dogue Creek is Belvoir,

the Fairfax home in colonial days, but to-day the site of Camp Humphreys of the army engineers. Under its green heights was fought that battle between Gordon's ships and Porter's batteries in 1814. On the hills at the head of Dogue Creek, plainly visible under a clear sky, is the long front of Woodlawn Mansion, and behind the conspicuous landing on the Maryland shore still stands Marshall Hall, a quaint old seat, indistinct among the trees, almost overlooked among the gaudy structures of a modern pleasure resort. Above Marshall Hall at the tip of the S and close to the water is a station of the United States Fisheries Commission at Bryan Point where shad and yellow perch are propagated at the rate of hundreds of millions a year. From the time that Belvoir is passed, however, all other legitimate interests are naturally obscured by the village of white buildings in the trees on the heights above the white landing house on the Virginia side. It is America's most venerated shrine, Mount Vernon. All water craft pay tribute as they pass the home and last resting place of Washington. On commercial ships a bell at least is tolled. Aboard a ship of the United States Navy, between sunrise and sunset, a full guard is paraded, the bell is tolled, the colours are dropped to half mast, the bugle sounds "Taps", the guard presents arms, and officers and men on deck stand at attention and salute.

The course past Mount Vernon is almost due east. A promontory divides the waters ahead. It is Fort Washington, already obsolete, on the site of once gay Warburton Manor of Washington's "neighbour Digges." The reach to the right is Piscataway Creek

to which Leonard Calvert and his party came in their two pinnaces to consult the Indian emperor before they turned back to found their capital at St. Mary's. On the left, behind a long skeleton of an abandoned landing, are the screened guns of Fort Hunt, upper tidewater's actual protection from invasion by the river.

The turn north around the long arm of tottering old piles on the left reveals a straight stretch of river for a distance of twelve miles direct to the head of tidewater and to the last of the landings. In the middle distance is Alexandria, old and new, still the largest city of northern Virginia. As its wharves, warehouses, spires, dwellings, trees, and streets come abreast and slip into the wake, the horizon ahead develops the familiar outlines of the circling panorama of our national capital, the City of Washington.

The high horizon lifts the landmarks in silhouette against the sky. On the western hills gleam the white portico of old Arlington House and the new marbles of the Memorial Amphitheatre dedicated to the nation's soldier and sailor dead. Beyond are the gray spires of Georgetown University. Above the treetops at the water's edge rises the Lincoln Memorial, the new Parthenon of the western world. To the east the lantern of the Library of Congress gives back to the sun the glint of its own golden rays, and even more prominent is the familiar white dome of the Capitol of the Republic. But centred on the river, reaching heavenward above every other detail of the environment, simple and superb, is the monument dedicated to the memory of Washington himself, father of his country and greatest of the many great sons of the Potomac.

LOOKING ACROSS THE FIELDS OF ABINGDON

And across the Potomac to the city of Washington. On the left rises the Washington Monument, on the right the familiar dome of the Capitol of the United States. Abingdon was the home of John Parke Custis, son of Martha Washington.

There is a subtle irony and a curious inadvertent appropriateness in the fact that the national capital, bartered in an irrelevant political deal, should have been set down at the head of tidewater Potomac. The river seems to acknowledge the beautiful city as its mistress, and to bring its homage to her feet. By day and year and decade its tides rise and rise as far as, but no farther than, the wide-flung flowering hem of her mantle of green. Here the queenly city stands, the culmination and the symbol of the history that was enacted along the river during three centuries which produced the finest flavour of our colonial civilization and an unsurpassed group of political philosophers and patriots in support of the river's own Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and George Washington.

THE END

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